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MARC LEE RAPHAEL

The Industrial Removal Office in Columbus: A Local Case Study

Historical studies of American institutions and organizations have overwhelmingly concentrated on the national headquarters of such groups, and generally ignored personalities and activities on the local level. A look from the "bottom-up" might clarify the effect of national decisions on local branches, the pressures local groups exerted upon national organizations, the actuality of national policies, and the values and concerns otherwise anonymous members of a local group bring to their activities.

The Industrial Removal Office (IRO), whose voluminous records are preserved at the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts, was created on January 24, 1901, by the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agricultural Society. Its primary function was to remove Jews, mainly east European, from the large East Coast cities (especially New York) and relocate them in communities throughout the United States. The IRO does seem to have enjoyed some success—at least in quantitative terms—during its two decades of existence from 1901 to 1922. In the first five years alone, 22,500 persons were relocated by the IRO, in the second five-year period another 27,000 persons were distributed, and more than 75,000 Jews were sent to over 1700 cities by the end of World War I.[1]

But such nation-wide gross figures for removals, or even smaller totals from Ohio,[2] camouflage a direct appreciation of the headaches involved in this operation within each community. Case studies of local branches of national organizations provide us with opportunities to flesh out the bare skeleton of large numbers and national directives.

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1. On the Industrial Removal Office (IRO), see Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States* (New York, 1914); Boris D. Bogen, *Jewish Philanthropy* (New York, 1917); Samuel Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (Philadelphia, 1935). For the total removals, see the *Annual Reports of the Industrial Removal Office*, located in The Papers of the Industrial Removal Office, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts (hereafter cited as *Annual Report of the IRO).*

2. From 1901 to 1913 there were 8,773 removals to Ohio, ranging from 152 in 1901 to 1,207 in 1913; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the IRO,* 1913, January 1, 1914.

Following a pattern established by the Industrial Removal Office nationally, the Federated Jewish Charities of Columbus, Ohio selected an agent or representative of the IRO whose salary was paid by the national organization.[3] In this way the IRO freed local communities from financial responsibilities and, by so doing, gained their cooperation more readily. One of the tasks of the agent was to request, once or twice a month, applicants in particular trades:[4]

I have need for a good repairer on second hand shoes. If you have a man on hand that can fill this place, send him at once, as the position is a good, steady place to make a fine living.[5]

If you have at hand a few good tailors, who have worked at custom work, please send me them at once. If they are good tailors they will get a very good salary.[6]

If you will have a good upholsterer between now and the 15th of this month, please send him here. I have a good place for the right man. Surely to make from 2-3 dollars a day.[7]

[I need] a first class shoe maker for repairing work. Must be sober, steady, and willing to work.[8]

The local agent would not only write directly to the national IRO, but would also encourage companies to send their requests to the New York office. A tailor, Herman Radzek, requested "two custom man's tailors"; Star Loan Bank asked the IRO to send a "presser for 2nd hand work" paying $12-15 per week with a maximum of a ten-hour day; while Peer Brothers Shoe Repairs requested two shoemakers, was sent four by the IRO, and regretfully had to return two men to New York. The IRO, however, did not respond automatically to each request; there was frequently a query to the agent or company requesting more specific information or even rejecting the request. When David Sachs, the "Shoe Man," bombarded the IRO with requests for a shoemaker, the IRO informed him he was a poor employer and cobblers who were sent to him quickly quit; in response to another demand of his the Office responded that "we have a shoemaker for you

3. Where no federation of Jewish philanthropies existed, groups such as the B'nai B'rith would direct the removal efforts.

4. At the same time that the IRO requested this of its agents, it protested that it "must not be regarded as an employment agency whose province it is to cater to the demands of employers"; David M. Bressler, "What is the Removal Office?" *National Conference of Jewish Charities*, May 27, 1904, p. 2.

5. Saul Silber to IRO, August 27, 1906, The Papers of the Industrial Removal Office, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts (hereafter cited as IRO Papers).

6. Silber to IRO, October 15, 1906, *Ibid.*

7. Silber to IRO, August 1, 1907, *Ibid.*

8. Silber to IRO, April 28, 1908, *Ibid.*

but since he cannot use a jack and you will only thus pay $7 we will not send him. This is not a man's wage."[9] The IRO did not always await the letter of the agent; it frequently initiated requests for job placement: "Louis Berg, electrician, at his trade 18 years, shows a very good reference from his former employers where he was employed as electrician and wireman for a year, and wishes to leave his family here. He is in good health; may we send him to your city."[10]

The IRO never promised, despite an agent's acceptance of a specific request, that an applicant would find a particular job at a certain salary in any of the more than fifteen hundred communities to which it sent men. A person was sent to a specific city, directed to an agent, and assured that an effort would be made to find work either in the man's trade or in something else. Nevertheless, the misunderstandings, and therefore the complaints and accusations, were legion. One man complained that he lost his job after three days because he was placed in the wrong craft, and that his lodgings were "dingy," without a "stove," and filled with "foul air." The agent informed the IRO that the man refused to work at the place assigned to him and hence could not be guaranteed permanent work, and that

> we paid for his board and lodging for two weeks and gave him $50 for shaving and car fare. I told him we will make it good, we have never yet allowed a man to hunger. As to his lodging place, we placed him in the same house where mostly of the people sent by you to us are placed. . .the house is a seven room house. . .all well ventilated, all bed rooms are provided with stoves for natural gas. I visit twice every week and see that the men should get what we pay for.[11]

Not only were there incessant complaints from the men assisted by the IRO, but local agents, as well as communities, registered regular protests over IRO actions. Most common were criticisms of the quality of men sent by the IRO:

> We are sending back to New York #35685 who is at least a mental incompetent if not a moral one. We have found him five jobs of all varying kinds of work but the man absolutely refuses to do anything except file brass. . . .He is a mental incompetent. . .and the person would have to be blind who could not see it by looking at or talking to this man for two minutes.[12]

9. Herman Radzek to IRO, August 31, 1910, Star Loan Bank to IRO, May 9, 1912, Peer Bros. Shoe Repairs to IRO, December 1, 1917, IRO to Peer Bros., December 13, 1917, Peer Bros. to IRO, December 26, 1917, David Sachs to IRO, September 9, 20, October 13, 26, December 28, 1909, IRO to David Sachs, January 5, 1910, David Sachs to IRO, February 13, March 28, April 12, 1910, IRO to Sachs, November 9, 1910, *Ibid.*

10. IRO to Arthur Ginzler, March 16, 1913, *Ibid.*

11. IRO to Ginzler, April 16, 1913, IRO to Silber, January 30, 1907, Silber to IRO, February 1, 1907, *Ibid.*

12. Fred Lazarus to IRO, March 20, 1913, *Ibid.*

The response of the IRO was brief and clear:

> #35685 was sent as a brass worker and turner and the fact that he does not wish other work doesn't demonstrate mental incompetence.[13]

The local agent was paid to undertake a wide range of tasks on behalf of the IRO and the newcomer, including locating jobs, arranging room, board, transportation and other necessities of daily living, providing "friendly suggestions and counsel" (particularly financial), and "getting the confidence of the men that are sent to your city." A typical request from the IRO to its agent involved tasks such as the following:

> Monia Mandel has applied to us for transportation to your city. He claims that his uncle P. Margulies. . .will assist him and his sister whenever the necessity arises. Will you please advise us whether we shall comply with his request or not. If your investigation proves favorable will you inform us how much P.M. will contribute toward their transportation.[14]

A variety of responses characterized the letters of agents to the IRO when attempting to answer the queries. Sometimes transportation costs were provided: "hes brother in law gave two dollars toward hes transportation. at es very defficult, too secure ane money, as the all clame the have not." At other times the request was totally rejected: "S. never heard of his 'cousin' and will send no money." When a relative could not afford to send money, help might be offered instead: "Mr. R. earns only $10 a week and supports a family so cannot send money but will receive his brother in law and assist him when he arrives." Still other times the agent himself, although relatives and funds were unavailable, would urge the IRO to invest its monies: "Send H. Gurevitz as he is a good tailor and here is an opening for a good tailors even though his cousin will not send money."[15] Despite their efforts, agents were continuously damned both by men sent to the various communities and by local zealous and jealous persons.

Saul Silber (1881-1946),[16] the IRO agent in Columbus from 1905-

13. IRO to Lazarus, March 24, 1913, *Ibid.*
14. IRO to Ginzler, December 9, 1912, IRO to M. Pollatsek, January 12, 1905, *Ibid.*
15. Pollatsek to IRO, n.d., Silber to IRO, March 3, December 14, 1905, March 1, 1906, *Ibid.*
16. Saul Silber, born and educated in Russia, arrived in the United States in 1900 and was employed in various capacities in Columbus from 1904 to 1908. His work included preaching and teaching at Agudas Achim synagogue and the Hebrew Free School respec-

Saul Silber of the Columbus IRO.
COURTESY MRS. MAX A. KOPSTEIN

1908, was vehemently denounced by the Columbus Hebrew Educational and Benevolent Society after almost two years of work for the IRO. He was accused of "not caring for an emigrant at all, but for himself," not "spending one hour a day for those emigrants," not "speaking English well," and "dumping them in the Panhandle shops, steel plant for night work and for seven days a week, where even Italians and Negroes refuse to work." The Society had a suggestion for the IRO, which probably revealed its true motivations in criticizing Silber: "pay us the $50 each month and we will handle up to 20 per month and make mechanics, tradesmen, etc of them. We offer you a one month 'free trial.' "[17]

tively. Residing in Chicago from 1910 until his death, he served as spiritual leader of Anshe Sholom congregation and president of the Hebrew Theological College. See Fred Lazarus *et al.* to IRO, August 17, 1906, *Ibid.; Columbus City Directories,* 1905, 1906, 1907; Columbus *Ohio State Journal,* September 9, 1904; Alex J. Goldman, *Giants of Faith: Great American Rabbis* (New York, 1964), 207-215; *Who's Who in American Jewry,* 3 vols. (New York, 1938), III, 988; Oral Interview with Marvin Fox, 1974, conducted by Marc Lee Raphael, Columbus Jewish History Project, The Ohio Historical Society.

17. Dr. Joseph Lipman to IRO, July 23, 1906, IRO Papers.

Silber's defense, presented by several members of the local advisory committee, not only praised him for "perseverance, integrity, and indomitable will," urged the IRO to raise his salary from $50 to $75 per month because he worked at his job "day and nite," but provided, both in its support of Silber and in the response it occasioned, information about IRO operations in Columbus.[18]

IRO activities began in Columbus at the end of 1904, and by the late summer of 1906, so the local community claimed, there remained thirty-two IRO men employed in Columbus, nine of whom had already sent for their families.[19] The IRO was rightly not impressed with these figures, noting that Saul Silber was only required to place twenty-nine men in 1905 (a minimum of three per month), and forty-five through August 1906 (a minimum of four per month), a task which should have left him abundant time for other work. Furthermore, agents in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo placed, in 1905 alone, 393, 318, 196, and 111 men respectively, although paid only $75 per month. Thus Silber's salary raise was denied, although the IRO did agree to consider a small increment if Silber would place more men each month. Silber's defenders angrily claimed he could easily place more men each month but that the IRO refused to send any more.[20]

The issue was finally resolved by forces outside the control of either the IRO or Silber. By the winter of 1907-1908 Columbus, like so many cities in the country, following the financial panic in 1907 and the industrial depression into which it flowed, was faced with severe unemployment. "To my sorrow," wrote Silber,

we are not able to place any man no difference what trade and what mechanic

18. Fred Lazarus *et al.* to IRO, August 17, 1906, *Ibid.*

19. These local figures supplied to the IRO appear to be greatly exaggerated. Of the 29 men sent to Columbus in 1905, only five (four tailors and one cutter) appear in the *City Directory* in any year between 1905 and 1910. Even granting the possibility that many roomed with friends or relatives during these years and hence were not heads of households, it is doubtful that the directory canvass, which attempted to tally all adults at an address, would have continuously missed these removals. Either Saul Silber's placement efforts or the newcomers' employment records were less than admirable. This conclusion places in question the annual IRO summary of removals, which regularly claimed that at least 75 percent, and in 1912 as many as 94 percent, of the removals found their new surroundings attractive and decided to remain; see *Twelfth Annual Report of the IRO*, 1912, p. 16. Most removals did come alone to Columbus, save some money from their salary, and, when married, bring their families. Morris Berliner, for example, who arrived in 1905, earned enough money as a ladies' tailor to bring his family to Columbus in 1907 (conversation with Morris' son, A. H. Berliner, Columbus, May 1, 1975; and IRO to Silber, April 25, 1905, IRO Papers).

20. Lazarus *et al.* to IRO, August 17, 1906, IRO to Lazarus, August 28, September 7, 1906, October 11, 1907, IRO to Lazarus, October 14, 1907, *Ibid.*

he is. There is more than 30 men of the IRO without work, and it is estimated that eight thousand men were discharged from work within the last 3 months. . . Pan Handle Railroad Shop layed off 800 men, Ralston Steel Car Co. 800 men, Columbus Buggy Co. 100 men, Columbus Iron and Steel 1500 men. . . .We had a good number of Jews in the above mentioned plants. Many are thrown out from them. The City Council granted some work in the Water Dept. to the unemployed men for ten cents an hour, and we got for 15 men work. We are trying everything to prevent starvation for these people.[21]

By the end of the year Silber had moved to Youngstown, Ohio to become principal of the Hebrew school, and the IRO work in Columbus, as in dozens of cities, came to a virtual halt. The winters of 1908-1909 and 1909-1910 saw little or no improvement, although by January 1910 Rabbi Joseph Kornfeld noted that although "industrial conditions [are] terrible," we "hope for an agency here again by April."[22]

As industrial conditions slowly improved throughout 1910, 1911, and much of 1912, the IRO operated minimally in Columbus; by the fall of 1912 a Columbus Committee of the IRO had been formed by the German Jewish leadership of the Federated Jewish Charities. The Committee agreed to supervise an agent, accept at least eight men per month, and provided a sixteen dollars per month family allowance (two of the eight removals were to be family men) or an eight dollars per month individual allowance to the removals.[23]

All of the problems which arose during the Silber years reappeared between 1912 and 1916, the second and final period of IRO activity in Columbus. These included IRO complaints about agents as well as the Committee, criticisms of the IRO from Columbus, and difficulties in placing the men who were sent to the city. For example, the Committee worked hard to make things run smoothly, insisting that its first agent (Sam Edelman, b. 1891) carefully and continuously describe Columbus industries to the IRO. This seemed to be precisely what the IRO desired; its General Manager noted that "the Removal Office must always be kept informed of the actual industrial conditions in all parts of the country, in order that an intelligent distribution may be made." Edelman sent detailed lists of Columbus companies to the IRO

21. Silber to IRO, January 8, 1908, *Ibid;* see also Jewish Charities of Columbus, Ohio to IRO, December 11, 1907, January 1, February 5, 1908, *Ibid.*

22. Silber to IRO, October 4, 1908, Jewish Charities of Columbus to IRO, November 6, 1907, Joseph Kornfeld to IRO, January 20, 1910, *Ibid.*

23. Simon Lazarus to IRO, July 26, 1911, Fred Lazarus to IRO, September 9, 1912, *Ibid.*

("our main industries are buggy and auto factories, machine factories, shoe, couch, mattress, cash register, and piano factories, foundries, and steel industries"), but the Office considered these too vague, would not send men without notice of specific job opportunities, and demanded "more exhaustive efforts." Edelman and the Committee complained that they were receiving no men, and the exchange of letters was often bitter.[24]

The most common complaint expressed by local agents continued to concern the quality of men sent to Columbus. Arthur Ginzler (1868-1947), Edelman's successor, scored the IRO for sending a Turkish and an Arab Jew, both of whom were "shiftless and dishonest and should never have been sent." Paul Karger,[25] a subsequent agent, informed the IRO that Mr. S. "is an absolutely worthless cuss, and has been a charge upon the charities practically the entire time that he was in Columbus." And Karger again notified the IRO that "we received in the last several weeks five tailors from your office. For your information I want to state that we are not able to use more tailors at present. It is the slowest time of the year in the tailor trade and more than half of our local tailors are without work." While successful placements occassioned no written communications, it is clear from the IRO correspondence that local communities had little hesitancy in making their complaints fully known to the national office.[26]

Most Jews who left the eastern metropolitan ghettos were not assisted by the IRO, but left for inland communities, such as Columbus, on their own. Some heard rumors of good job opportunities, others stopped on their way out west and stayed permanently, while still more joined relatives of *landsleit* already in Columbus. While comparisons between immigrants who came independently and those who were sent by the IRO are difficult, there is little evidence to suggest that the latter, at least in Columbus, had any significant advantage. Not only was their adjustment to the new city often painful, but their failure to

24. Samuel Edelman to IRO, September 23, 1912, IRO to Fred Lazarus, February 17, 1913, *Ibid.;* Bressler, "What is the Removal Office?" *National Conference of Jewish Charities,* May 27, 1904, p. 2; Edelman to IRO, October 20, 1912, IRO to Fred Lazarus, November 13, 1912, IRO Papers.

25. Paul Karger, one of the most active Columbus Jews in providing support for Russian immigrants, headed the Relief Committee of the B'nai B'rith Zion Lodge No. 62 for many years. As early as January 1901 Karger tried unsuccessfully to convince the Lodge to send for and support 15 Rumanian refugees. See Zion Lodge No. 62, Minutes, January 13, 1901, B'nai B'rith Zion Lodge Office, The Jewish Center, Columbus, Ohio.

26. Lazarus to IRO, November 27, 1912, Karger to IRO, January 4, February 16, 1914, IRO Papers.

become permanent residents of the community was striking. Despite the enormous national and local relief efforts by the IRO and its agents, their contribution to Jewish life in Columbus seems minimal.

In the early years of IRO operations, the interior communities were frequently indifferent to and often angered by the character of the immigrants sent. Yet the annual reports of the organization, like those of most national bodies, tell overwhelmingly of "satisfactory locations." Case studies of local operations, and the persons who direct those movements, provide the most profitable method of testing the claims made by the national organization.

edited by
DONALD J. RATCLIFFE

The Autobiography of Benjamin Tappan

There are few more fascinating characters in the early history of Ohio than Benjamin Tappan. A sharp and audacious man, "always pungent and always ready," he was formidable in argument, and few people who openly disagreed with him ever forgot his cutting sarcastic wit. Besides tending to talk through his nose "in a whining, sing-song sort of style," he was also slightly cross-eyed, which gave him a somewhat malevolent look. He made no attempt to conceal this defect, not even when a national magazine published an engraving of his portrait in 1840; he insisted only that his sharp black eyes be portrayed correctly—the left eye turning in, not the right—and that he not be made to look a fool. No one ever accused this forthright, shrewd, caustically witty man of that.[1]

The eldest of six brothers, Tappan has been overshadowed historically by the two youngest, Arthur and Lewis, the famous abolitionists.[2] Although he himself detested slavery and was unusually sympathetic to freed Negroes, Benjamin disapproved profoundly of the strident agitation of this political sensitive issue by "modern" abolitionists like his brothers; and, in a fascinating correspondence he maintained with Lewis for over forty years, he forcefully revealed the philosophical differences that divided him from these younger evangelical zealots. Benjamin Tappan was essentially a man of the Enlightenment, a deist

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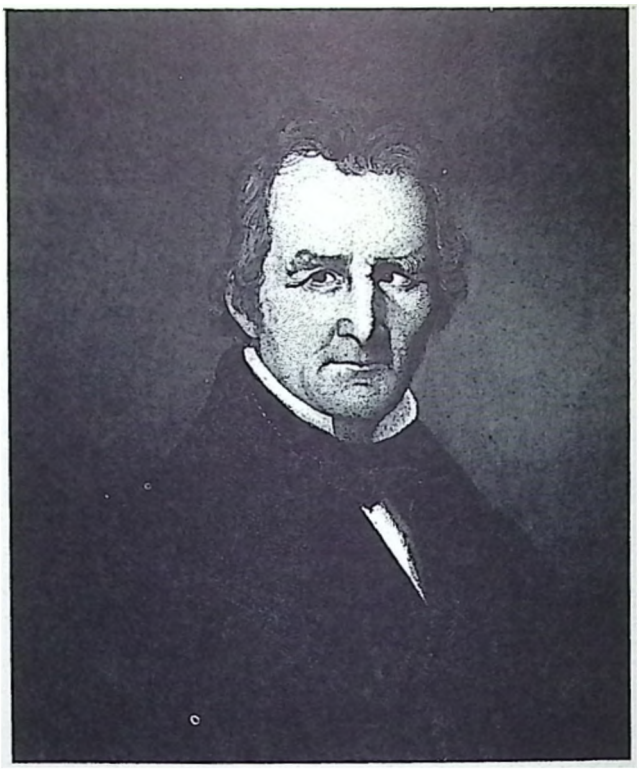
1. This brief account of Tappan is based on a reading of the Papers of Benjamin Tappan, in The Ohio Historical Society (OHS) and the Library of Congress (LC). All manuscripts cited hereafter, unless otherwise stated, are drawn from these collections. A good brief account of Tappan by Francis P. Weisenburger is in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1936), XVIII, 300-301. The characterizations are taken from Thomas Ewing to A. H. Goodman, May 26, 1868, The Papers of Charles E. Rice, OHS; and from Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 3 vols. (Columbus, 1889-91), I, 971-2, II, 698.

2. See especially Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland, 1969).



Benjamin Tappan (1773-1857). THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW

and a rationalist who wished to destroy the tyranny which he believed traditional, orthodox religion exercised over the minds of men. He encouraged experimentation of all kinds, supporting the educational ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and the communitarian schemes of Robert Owen. He took a great interest in advancing scientific knowledge, especially geology and chemistry, and he himself became the foremost expert on conchology in the antebellum United States. Incidentally he was first president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. In a small way he was a latter-day combination of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

His career of public service was also remarkably distinguished. For thirteen years he was chairman of the commission responsible for building the first great canals across Ohio, the ambitious project which revolutionized the economic development of the state. A lawyer by profession and a President Judge in Ohio for seven years, he was nominated as a United States District Judge by President Andrew Jackson in 1833. Since he was, however, regarded as an excessively

partisan leader of the Ohio Democratic party, his nomination was rejected by the Whig-controlled Senate during the panic session of 1834. But in 1839, at the age of sixty-five, he was elected a United States Senator, and soon became an adviser of President Martin Van Buren and a leader of the Western "hard money" Democrats. Though refusing to countenance abolitionism, he opposed the "aggressions" of the "slave power," and in 1844 was responsible for leaking to the press secret documents concerning the proposed annexation of Texas. A Free Soiler in 1848 and a Republican by 1856, Tappan died in 1857 before the final crisis of sectional conflict arrived; yet his influence continued to find expression through the person of his former protégé and law partner—Edwin M. Stanton, Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War.[3]

Most of these prominent public services, however, were performed after 1823, and it is usually forgotten that Tappan had already had an interesting career in the fifty years before that date. Although he was one of the earliest pioneers in northern Ohio, the record of his experiences has been largely ignored, while his correspondence as an active politician before 1812 has never been properly utilized. Yet Tappan himself left several accounts of incidents in his early career, which survive in their original manuscript form. He wrote an important critique of Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* when that work was first published in 1847, and towards the end of his life he wrote an account of "The First Settlement of Ravenna." What is here published, however, is a more systematic autobiographical account which reveals the outlines of his career down to 1823.[4]

This "Autobiography" was written in 1840 at the invitation of *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* which, under the editorship of John L. O'Sullivan, was regarded as the literary and intellectual mouthpiece of the Democratic party. Tappan's account was then used as the basis for an article written by Matthew Birchard of Ohio, Solicitor of the Treasury in Van Buren's administration, with the assistance of Attorney General Benjamin F. Butler. This article, published in the June and July numbers of the *Democratic Review,* was designed to celebrate the virtues of "the venerable patriarch of the Ohio democracy." Accordingly, it was filled with long-winded rhetoric in the Jacksonian style, and omitted some of the historically more

3. Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York, 1962), especially 19-38, 457; Howe, *Historical Collections* (Columbus, 1889-91), I, 972.

4. All three manuscripts are at the Ohio Historical Society.

interesting aspects of Tappan's original account. We are, therefore, printing Tappan's unpolished early draft ot the autobiography, a version which, though tantalisingly brief on some points, has the virtue of allowing the true character of the writer to break through.[5]

Some features of the "Autobiography" deserve further initial comment. Tappan's character and outlook were obviously deeply influenced by his upbringing in New England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Toppans (as the name was originally spelled) were a family of orthodox Puritans who had lived in Massachusetts since 1637, a family of farmers and storekeepers and village ministers. Benjamin Tappan's father, as an apprentice goldsmith in Boston, had married his master's daughter; the master, William Homes (or Holmes), was the son of Mary Franklin, a younger sister of Benjamin Franklin.[6] Tappan reveals early in the piece that Franklin was his great-great-uncle, and his account of his early training as a craftsman is clearly reminiscent of the latter's much more famous *Autobiography*.

Tappan was similar to Franklin also in his rejection of the religious orthodoxies of New England. His mother was a devout Calvinist, who insisted on bringing her children up within the framework of the strict evangelicalism reinvigorated by the Great Awakening; suitably, the family lived for some time in the Jonathan Edwards house in Northampton, Massachusetts. Benjamin Tappan reacted strongly against this religious indoctrination; his brother Lewis said Benjamin suffered in his youth from attempts to make him a religious enthusiast at a time of revivalistic excitement, and the result was to make Benjamin a scoffer at all religion and a disturber of others in their more conventional opinions. He had taken up the anticlerical and rationalist outlook which was fashionable in advanced circles at that period; he found in Voltaire and David Hume a sceptical attitude which he preferred to the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of traditional religion. His prejudice against religious enthusiasm was what divided him from an evangelical reformer like Lewis, whose crusade against sin was buoyed by the religious revival of the nineteenth century. That same aggressive prejudice is all too evident in the "Autobiography."[7]

5. Tappan to Lewis Tappan, June 6, 1840, OHS. *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, VII (June, 1840), 540-562, VIII (July, 1840), 42-51. A fragment also survives of what appears to be a later draft of the "Autobiography," which is very similar to a passage in the *Democratic Review* article.

6. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 300.

7. Lewis Tappan to Tappan, March 8, 1827, Tappan Papers, LC. See also the excellent chapter, "The Legacy of Sarah Tappan," in Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, which, however, errs in sending Benjamin to Harvard to learn his infidelity (p. 13).

Such hostility to traditional religion inevitably turned Tappan against the "Standing Order" in Connecticut. In this state the established Congregational Church was closely allied to a secular government that, even after the American Revolution, was still based on a colonial charter which effectively preserved the power of the Federalist ruling groups.[8] When an opposition party emerged in the 1790s, Tappan naturally joined it, and he could interpret the consequent party contest—with more justice than perhaps in any other state—as a struggle between "aristocracy" and "democracy." The "Autobiography," therefore, assumes a similarity—indeed, a continuity—between politics around the turn of the century and the political struggle of 1840 which most modern historians would reject.

This partisan background helps to explain the unattractive character assassination which the "Autobiography" indulges in. Certainly, Tappan seems to have had a knack for making enemies. Anyone who irritated him, crossed him, or fell short of his exacting standards was sure to receive the rough edge of his tongue; he was so self-opinionated that he felt no restraint in repeating his scathing criticisms. Yet, interestingly, in the "Autobiography" he overlooks some who had annoyed him most, such as his brother-in-law John M. Goodenow; but, then, Goodenow had become a sound Jacksonian.[9] Those held up to our critical gaze were nearly all men who subsequently opposed Tappan in politics or who by 1840 had deserted the Democratic party. There were obvious reasons for wishing to destroy the reputation of political enemies such as William Henry Harrison and Thomas Morris in 1840, and, indeed, of many of their more obscure followers. Interestingly enough, the version printed in the *Democratic Review* omitted most of these critical passages, except for the criticism of the military record of Whig presidential candidate Harrison.

The "Autobiography" is reprinted much as Tappan wrote it, including his unusual spellings. In order to assist the reader, however, it has been fully punctuated and capital letters inserted. There are some minor verbal alterations and a few changes of tense. Some of the original crossings-out and corrections have been included where they appear to add to the story. Since at times Tappan slips over an episode with tantalizing brevity, further material has been inserted in square brackets, some of it drawn from his other reminiscences. Comments have also been added where background information seems desirable

8. Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition, 1776-1818* (Washington, D.C., 1914).
9. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 385-386.

or the historical record needs to be kept straight. But, for the most part, Tappan will tell his own tale.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Early Years, 1773-1796

B.T. was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, on the 25 of May 1773. He received all the advantages of the common school instruction of his native state untill he was ten years old, when his father, with several other gentlemen of that town, established an Academy & placed at the head of it a Scotchman of the name of Carson[?], who was assisted by an Englishman of the name of Fry. At this Academy he remained untill he was 14 years old. In this time he acquired a good knowledge of mathematics, geometry, surveying & navigation, beside some knowledge of the Lattin & French languages.

His father intended that he should be entered as a student in Harvard University as soon as he & the rest of his class were quallified, which was expected to be in the year 1787; but overhearing his father, in conversation with his mother, express some doubt whether "if he gave Benjamin a college education it might not be doing injustice to his other children" (which seemed likely to be numerous), Benj. instantly determined that his father should not be put to the expense of educating him, & the next morning he told his father that he had been reflecting on the matter & had concluded that it would be best for him to learn a trade. His father, not suspecting the cause of this sudden change, urged his son to continue his studies but did not succeed in changing his determination. The next day he went to work in his father's shop to learn the trade of a Goldsmith, which he had carried on for many years. This incident is the more singular in that it occurred in precisely the same way at the same age to his father, who was the oldest of twelve children of the Revd. Benj. Tappan of Manchester, Massachusetts, & at 14 commenced learning the goldsmith's trade of his (afterwards) father-in-law, Mr. William Homes of Boston, who was the son of Capt. Robert Homes, the brother-in-law of Doctr Franklin.

At this time B.T. had learned to draw with black lead & india ink so that he could copy engravings with much accuracy. One of the first schoolmasters B.T. had was James Shephard, who practised, in his writing lesson, drawing the head of some animal or bird in some part of his capital letters. His pupil copied all these with great care & so much to the satisfaction of his instructor as to induce the latter to take particular care & pains in giving lessons in drawing out of school. Besides he got much assistance from a deserter from the British army in

Canada who had been a coach painter. The writer of this has seen drawings in black lead made when he was 9 or 10 years old which are very exact copies of the engraved portraits in [Tobias] Smollet's history of England.[10]

B.T. worked seven years at different mechanic trades, first with his father at the gold and silversmith's business about two years, during which he learned & practised copper plate engraving & printing. He had no instructor in this art but he polished his own plates, made his own press & printed from his own engravings. After this he worked some time with one Stiles [?] at making arms & musical instruments for a troop of cavalry. He then hired Jacob Sergeant, an experienced workman at clock and watch making, to teach him to make clocks & watches, for which Sergeant received one hundred dollars. He continued working at various mechanic trades untill he was 21 years of age. He was not, indeed, a good & finished workman for that requires a practised hand, but he knew how to do many things well enough to pass for a tollerable journey man at several trades.[11]

During this time he had read everything he could get hold of &, having a retentive memory, he had acquired a good knowledge of history & general literature. He wrote also occasionally some poetry for the newspapers, generally of a rather satirical cast. In politicks [*sic*] also he had taken his stand on the democratic side by joining with that party in a supper to rejoice at the recapture of Toulon from the British & Spanish.[12]

10. The British novelist Tobias George Smollett (1721-1771) published a multivolumed *Compleat History of England* in various editions between 1757 and 1765. Intended as a popular rival to David Hume's history, at least one edition appeared in sixpenny weekly numbers illustrated with portraits.

11. He also assisted Prescott, the original inventor of the carding machine, in making his various improvements, none of which could be seen by anyone else until the work was finished. Tappan's brother-in-law later said he had seen him described in the press "as a *Working Man*—who in youth could & did turn your hand to *twelve* different occupations with energy & with success." Tappan to his son, January 21, 1840, Tappan Papers, OHS; William Edwards to Tappan, December 26, 1833, Tappan Papers, LC.

12. The growth of partisan divisions in the early 1790s was commonly related in this way to individual reactions to the growing crisis in Europe. By 1793 the French Revolution was threatened both by external foes and civil war. In the summer conservatives had handed over Toulon, the main French naval base in the Mediterranean, and surrendered the fleet to British and Spanish forces. The port was besieged by a revolutionary army, and its recapture in December 1793 was followed by bloody reprisals. Such events divided opinion in the United States, with many American conservatives reprobating the extremism of the French revolutionaries. The more radical, like Tappan, identified themselves with the revolutionary cause and demanded that George Washington's government pursue a policy of greater friendship to France than in fact it did. Thus foreign affairs helped to sharpen and extend the party cleavage which had already begun to emerge in the capital over domestic issues and which was soon to produce the virulent conflict between Federalist and Jeffersonian Republican.

At the time he arrived at 21 years of age he was boarding in the family of a Mr. Manna Wadsworth, a man a few years older than himself with whom he became very intimate & to whom he was much attached. Wadsworth had a pulmonary complaint & was advised by his Physicians, the celebrated Doct. Todd & the no less celebrated Doct. Hopkins of Hartford, to go to sea, upon which he determined.[13] He was, however, too feeble to go without some friend to take care of him. B.T., finding that he was not likely to succeed in getting a suitable person to go with him, offered to go with him at his own expense. Wadsworth thankfully accepted the offer. They went to Farmington in Connecticut, where Mr. Wadsworth's father resided, to prepare for the voyage. There they spent about two weeks in the society of Todd & Hopkins, when they went over to Weathersfield & then took passage on board a sloop for New London. At Lyme, Tappan landed & walked across the country to New London, while his companion continued on board the sloop. At New London they engaged a passage on board the Brig *Jason,* commanded by Moses Tryon, bound to Barbadoes, &, after waiting 21 days for a wind, sailed in June 1794. They had not been at sea many days before T. discovered that, of the three quadrants on board, not one was in good order or would give the correct latitude by observation within five miles. His mechanical skill enabled him to correct them. He also applied himself to learn practical (as he had learned theoretical) navigation & he was welcomed as a volunteer of the old sailors & worked with them at all branches of their duty on the voyage out. Indeed, he learned so much of the business of a sailor that he has often boasted afterwards that he could "bend, reef & steer" with any old sailor, & Capt. Tryon was so well satisfied with his superior skill that on the homeward voyage he gave up to him his quadrant & log book & took no observation himself. The vessel arrived at Barbadoes in the usual time & from there visited St. Lucia, Martinique, Eustatia, St. Thomas & Turks Island & returned to New York.

13. Eli Todd (1769-1833), the son of a wealthy merchant and a product of Yale, was a personal friend of Tappan, with whom he shared a democratic, worldly outlook. At this time Todd was practising at Farmington, Conn., though he was not to gain distinction as a consulting physician until a decade later. He subsequently did much work for the improved care and treatment of alcoholics and, especially, the mentally ill. Lemuel Hopkins (1750-1801), a staunch Calvinist and Federalist of the older generation, one of the "Hartford Wits," was already renowned for his pathbreaking methods of treating tuberculosis, including the prescription of fresh air. Wadsworth continued to suffer from "ulcerated" lungs and expressed dissatisfaction with the doctors Tappan had found for him. Wadsworth to Tappan, September 15, 1795, and Todd to Tappan, May 1, 1798, Tappan Papers, OHS; *Dictionary of American Biography,* IX, 215, XVIII, 570-571.

Soon after his arrival here, finding himself exposed to the small pox, he went to the city dispensary & got some matter with which he innoculated himself. He then formed the design of going to France & with that view he made arrangements to sail in a merchant vessel which was loading for Bordeaux. Mentioning the circumstance of his having inocculated himself for the small pox to the Captain, this gentleman advised him not to risk himself at sea untill he had had the disease &, his advice & reasons being satisfactory, the voyage was for the present given up.[14]

As I walked up from the vessel I noticed several mechanic trades at which I believed I could earn journeyman's wages and I passed them in review to determine to which I would resort for employment & the means of subsistance. The result was that, as I intended to travel in Europe, it would be better than any mechanic trade were I to learn portrait painting. I therefore took the New York directory & wrote down the names & places of residence of all the portrait painters, determined to visit them & find one among them, if possible, who would instruct me in this art. The first on my list was the Columbian Academy of painting kept by two men of the name of Campbell in Williams street. I accordingly went to the Academy & talked to one of these Mr. Campbells about his terms of tuition, which he stated would be 50 guineas. This was altogether beyond my means so that if I had liked the man, as I did not, I could not engage with him.

The next on my list was Gilbert Stewart, 63 Stone Street.[15] I went there & was told by the English servant that Mr. Stewart was not at home. I knew this was a civil way of telling me that he was engaged. I told him therefore I would go in & wait untill Mr. Stewart came in. The servant stared at me but showed me into a large room in which were a number of portraits & two you[ng] Frenchmen, refugees from St. Domingo,[16] learning to paint. I staid here long enough to be satisfied

14. Tappan's design was "to join the republican party in France," as had Thomas Paine. The risk at sea arose because "there would be no one on board capable of rendering him proper assistance, in case of sickness from that disease." *Democratic Review*, VII, 543. At this point in his narrative Tappan breaks away from the formal third-person narrative and adopts a more obviously autobiographical style.

15. Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) had returned from Europe in 1792 or 1793 after establishing his reputation as a fashionable portrait painter in London and Dublin during the previous seventeen years. Later in the year he moved to Philadelphia, and painted some renowned portraits of George Washington and other national leaders. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 166.

16. The revolution in the French colony of Santo Domingo (later Haiti) had led many wealthy whites to flee to the United States where they had a considerable impact on the cultural life of the leading seaboard cities.

that Stewart was a painter of a superior grade to the Columbia Academicians. After an hour waiting, Stewart came in & asked if I was the person who wanted to see him. I told him I was & that my business with him was to see if he would teach me portrait painting. He asked, "How do you know that you can learn that art? It is not everyone who can learn it." I told him I could not well answer that question but that I was confident I could learn. He then invited me up into his room where he worked. I had no difficulty in making an arrangement. So I set up my easel at his room & painted there, mostly in copying his portraits, five or six months. I followed this business some months afterwards in the country.

My manner of spending my time in New York was to go to the Museum as soon as I had got my breakfast & there read in Dobson's Encyclopedia (a work in about 20 volumes quarto which I read entirely thro');[17] there untill 11 o'clock; then to Stewart's for an hour; then on [to the business ex] change [for] two hours to hear the news & read the newspapers; after having dined, to the museum again & in the evening generally to the theatre. I hired a back chamber at 190 Pearl Street where I could paint conveniently such days as I did not go to Stewarts, & I stored enough bones & c. for a neighbour apothecary in the room to pay my rent. My provisions I bought sometimes at one place & sometimes at another, living very frugally from necessity, for I did not like to write to my father for money (tho' he was always very liberal with me) because I thought that I ought to support myself.

By Stewart's advice I went into the country & painted a few portraits & was getting some money & reputation. At Stratford [Connecticut] I became acquainted with Mr. Baldwin, the amiable Rector of the church in that place, & at his suggestion wrote a satire upon Doct. Timothy Dwight who then preached at Greenfield hill.[18] The state of Connecticut had sold her western lands (now the North part of Ohio) to

17. This work was the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, which was already established as the foremost and fullest reference work of its kind. The third edition, which had begun to appear in Britain in 1787, was also published in the United States, under the imprint of Thomas Dobson of Philadelphia, with the simple title of *Encyclopaedia*.

18. Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) had been pastor of the Congregational Church at Greenfield Hill since 1783, during which time he had established his reputation as an educator, preacher, author and man of affairs. A bitter enemy of Democracy and infidelity, he exerted all his talents to preserve the "Standing Order" in Connecticut, in this instance by buttressing the established church. Later in 1795 he was appointed President of Yale, where he exercised such influence as to be called the "Pope of Connecticut."

American painter Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828).
GALE RESEARCH COMPANY

a company for 1,200,000 dollars.[19] The question was much agitated what should be done with the interest of the money. Dr. Dwight, with his characteristic impudence, maintained in two sermons the propriety of appropriating the whole to the support of religion & published these sermons in the Danbury newspaper. The sermon made much noise & the clergy of the same church with Doct. Dwight (the Congregational) felt pretty sure of handling the money. The other sects, however, who knew that they would get none of the money, joined the Democracy against it & defeated the project. Mr. Baldwin wrote a very severe article in prose which, with the satire in verse, appeared in the Danbury paper together & were thought to do much towards defeating Doct. Dwight's plan. [The money was instead devoted to the common school fund, and benefitted the state for decades.]

From Stratford, I returned to Northampton & attended to my father's store while he went to Boston on some business. Before he got

19. These were the lands, stretching 120 miles to the west from Pennsylvania's western border, which Connecticut reserved to its own use in 1786 when it surrendered to the nation its other claims to lands in the West. They were sold to this consortium of private land speculators after Gen. Anthony Wayne's victory over the Ohio Indians and the consequent treaty of Green Ville in 1795 had made the settlement of northeastern Ohio feasible.

home I recd. a letter from my brother John, who had been residing with a cousin in New York but who had at the commencement of the yellow fever (1795) been sent into the country, informing me that his cousin was dead & that he should return to New York in a few days to see about his affairs. I immediately got me a horse & rode to Horseneck where I found brother John aboard a sloop just on the eve of sailing to New York. I brought him home with me by riding & lying[?]. I remained at Northampton untill the month of April following, painting some portraits & reading ~~some but rather idling my time away~~ books upon anatomy & medicine with a view to study physic as a profession. In April 1796 I signed with Mr. [Gideon] Grainger of Suffield in Connecticut to study law with him.

Law Student, 1796-1799

In the month of April 1796 I commenced studying law in the office of Gideon Granger, Jnr., of Suffield in the state of Connecticut. I studied very dilligently with him three years, when I was admitted to the bar at Hartford. During this three years I translated the whole of Voltaire's *Henriad* into English verse.[20] I did this to perfect myself in the French language and to indulge my taste for writing in verse.

Party spirit ran very high while I was studying & most of the students were Democratic.[21] The Federalists had not in that time brought political lying to near the perfection they have it now & their press was not as uniformly slanderous, but there was as much if not more personal animosity. This arose from the Federalists' assuming and wearing a

20. *Le Henriade* was an epic account of the heroic deeds of Henri IV which Voltaire used as a vehicle for criticizing the *ancien régime* in France. Tappan's manuscript translation of the epic, and notes on it, still survive in Tappan Papers, OHS.

21. By joining the staff of Gideon Granger (1767-1822), Tappan was connecting himself with the leader of the opposition party in Connecticut. Granger had been responsible for the Common School Law of 1795, which was preferred to Timothy Dwight's ecclesiastical proposals. His articles under the pseudonym of Algernon Sidney in the Hartford *American Mercury* were among the first evidences of opposition to the rule of the "Standing Order" of Connecticut. By 1798 he was definitely aligned with the national Democratic-Republican party, and his vigorous support of Thomas Jefferson in the Presidential election of 1800 was to be rewarded by his appointment as United States Postmaster-General. These years when Tappan studied in Granger's law office were, indeed, a time when partisan conflict reached almost unparalleled intensity. The war crisis with France, exacerbated by the publication of the XYZ letters, moved Federalists to demand national unity and to pass the repressive Alien and Sedition Laws; the Democratic-Republicans opposed measures they considered destructive of liberty, and accused the Federalists of trying to involve the country in the European war on the side of reactionary Britain. In retrospect, Tappan identified all his subsequent political opponents, and especially the Whigs of 1840, with his Federalist enemies of 1798.

black cockade as a badge of distinction; *all* the Federalists wore this badge, the men in their hat & the women in their bosom. I remember well spending an evening at my father's with the judges of the Supreme Court of Massachussetts who were holding a court at Northampton. They all had the black cockade in their hats. To show the violent feelings of that time, I will state that the conversation was upon Alien and Sedition laws, & one of the judges said that the Sedition law was an amelioration of the common law and that on that account it ought to be supported by every just man: it allowed the truth to be given in evidence & the common law did not. I asked the judge whether the common law was part & parcel of the law of the United States, to which he gave an evasive answer. He could not answer affirmatively, & he had been led by his violent feelings to defend the Federal administration on untenable grounds.[22] It was very common for the black cockade gentry (as they were called) to insult those who would not wear that badge, particularly the young men. To prevent this we procured stiff hickory canes & did not go out without them so that in a little time, as the Federalists were distinguishable by their black cockades, the Democrats were by their white staves. I well recollect seeing John Adams while President wearing the black cockade.

In 1798 John Adams issued a proclamation for a general fast which was kept more or less over New England & probably the other states. On this occasion I composed a parody on the 148th Psalm & had it published in a Democratic paper printed in Suffield, from which it was copied into the [Philadelphia] *Aurora* & most of the Democratic papers throughout the Union. It was entitled "A Psalm for the Federalist Fast." [The "Psalm" accused the Federalists of wishing, not so much to worship the Almighty, as to excite the people into a war against France. The Fast became a focus of Federalist enthusiasm, and was well observed in New England, though not in New York and Philadelphia.]

In the winter of 1798-9 the Federal lawyers in Connecticut had a

22. Tappan here is being myopically partisan, failing to understand the Federalist lawyer's dismay. The status of Common Law was a bone of contention for a generation after the Revolution, with the more conservative arguing that the courts could exercise a jurisdiction not authorized by statute law as long as it was justified by long-standing British precedents. The more radical, like Tappan, refused to follow British example and could see nothing good to say for the repressive acts of 1798, themselves based on British legislation of 1795 designed to suppress potentially revolutionary activity. Ironically, Tappan as a judge in 1819 ruled that crimes under English common law should be held as crimes by Ohio courts in the absence of specific state legislation, a ruling which was much criticized and never accepted by other Ohio judges.

meeting and agreed thereafter to exclude from admission to the bar all Democratic students, & a short time before I applied for admission they had refused admission to a young man in Tolland County who was said to be of excellent character as a gentleman & schollar. I was the second to be excluded and, as some of the Federal lawyers were my personal friends, it was tho't adviseable to make some charge against me. The charge made was sedition & blasphemy, and the "Psalm" was produced as the evidence which was to convict me of those crimes. It had, however, a contrary effect with the bar meeting, for when Jonathan Brace, one of the oldest members of the Hartford bar, declared that *he* would have been proud of the authorship of the Psalm, the younger members gave it up (all except Theodore Dwight, who had borrowed a pigeon net of me & never returned it, for which I had some years before spoken sharply to him, & Walter Edwards, who had swindled me out of $200), so that I was admitted on the next day.[23] Perhaps, however, the bar who were nine tenths Federalists were somewhat quickened in this matter by learning that if I was rejected I should settle down in Hartford & assist Major [Elisha] Babcock in editing the *American Mercury* which was then a Democratic paper.[24]

Journey to Ohio, 1799

[Tappan's fortunes were now influenced by the state of Connecticut's involvement in northeastern Ohio.[25] Connecticut had sold the title to its lands to the Connecticut Land Company, in which Tappan's father was a stockholder. He drew as his share at least fourteen widely separated pieces of land, but the main lot consisted of two-thirds of a township which his fellow shareholders agreed in 1799 should be called Ravenna. Having invested more than he ought in this speculation, the father recognized that he could avoid serious embarrassment only if the lands in the West which he now owned were developed and sold as

23. This Federalist relenting may have arisen in part from their general appreciation of satire as a literary form; in this case, Tappan was beating the "Hartford wits" at their own game. Jonathan Brace was also one of the three trustees of the Connecticut Land Company, and so played a significant role in the settlement of northeastern Ohio. Theodore Dwight (1764-1846), a younger brother of Timothy, had been a Hartford lawyer (and "wit") since 1791; in 1814 he was to be secretary of the infamous Hartford Convention. Walter Edwards was presumably a member of the well-known Congregationalist family, related to the Dwights and the Tappans.

24. Elisha Babcock became editor and owner of the Hartford *American Mercury* in 1786 and in time made it the foremost Democratic-Republican paper in the state.

25. For background information on the settlement of Connecticut's Western Reserve, see Harlan Hatcher, *The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio* (Cleveland, 1966), 1-80; and Mary Lou Conlin, *Simon Perkins of the Western Reserve* (Cleveland, 1968), 1-74.

quickly as possible. His eldest son agreed to strike out to the frontier, survey the land, and sell it to actual settlers, on condition that the proceeds should be divided evenly between his father and him. Thirty years later Tappan confessed that his decision had been influenced partly by his fear that he could not succeed in his profession in New England, where there were so many able and learned lawyers—a fear which he discovered too late was not well-founded.[26] Be that as it may, Tappan now found himself a pioneer, striking out for Ohio where his family owned extensive lands which he could sell or give away as seemed most expedient in the cause of promoting settlement.]

Soon after I was admitted to the bar, I went to Northampton & on the 19th April 1799 I left Northampton, with a man I had hired for six months, for the Western Reserve. I took with me a yoke of oxen, a cow and a box of plough irons, harrow teeth & other farming tools. At Schenectady uncle Ben Homes ["my mother's youngest brother"][27] joined me & I hired another man for six months. I let Homes have my horse & started him on by land with the cattle, while I purchased & fitted out a three-handed batteau & started by water. The first day we worked hard to get the boat up against the current of the Mohawk but, as both my hands were new to boating, we did not get out of sight of Schenectady. ["The Mohawk was high & rapid for my boat was the first that ascended it that spring & the ice had but just run out."] The second day we doubled our distance and got six miles further. The third day we got 12 miles, from which time on we did much better, tho' as the Mohawk was high we had a labourious voyage. At Johnstown, I was very hospitably entertained by Judge Fisher, whose boys were at the river fishing & invited me and my hands to their father's house.

The next day, a few miles above that on the south side of the Mohawk, we stopped to grind an ax & took in David Kellog & his family, consisting of a wife & two young children. It was at a blacksmith's shop we stopped to grind the ax. David was a blacksmith & had been at work there. While my men were grinding the ax, he enquired of me where we were going. I told him & my account of the country I was going to caught his fancy much. I had expected my uncle Homes to bring on his family, as he was poor & had a number of boys,

26. Tappan to his son Benjamin, September 29, 1829, Tappan Papers, LC. The most useful sources on the background of the Tappans' landholdings on the Western Reserve are Tappan's MS account of "The First Settlement of Ravenna" (written c. 1855), Tappan Papers, OHS; and [R. C. Brown *et al.*], *History of Portage County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1885), 189-190.

27. This and subsequent inserted comments come from Tappan, "First Settlement of Ravenna," Tappan Papers, OHS.

& I had offered to pay his expenses & take him on with me & give him 200 acres of land when he got there. Kellog's wife appeared to be a smart woman & I encouraged them to go with me & offered him 100 acres of land to go on & board me & my hands, I to take them ["with what little furniture they had"] on gratis & pay them for all the work they should do for me. I did not perceive that he was a mere loafer who was willing to go anywhere, provided he could get someone to support him.

We got on without difficulty & were the first boat which passed down Wood creek & across the Oneida lake that season. At Oswego, the wind being unfavorable, we were detained three days, during which time I employed my men clearing the first ground that was cleared in the town of Hannibal [New York], for a barrel of salt.[28] From Oswego we boated along the shore of Lake Ontario to Gerundagut [Irondequoit] bay, up to the head of which we went to take in three barrels of flour & two of pork which had been deposited there for me. We did this & got again into the Lake without accident.[29] Our next stopping place was Braddocks bay where we were detained by a head wind a day or two. From this we reached the mouth of the Niagara river. Our boat & loading was waggoned by the path of Queenstown to Chippewa, at which place, besides the barracks, there were then but two or three houses. I got leave to occupy an old store house for one night. [In other words, the party has crossed Lake Ontario and is journeying south on the Canadian bank of the Niagara river as a means of passing above the rapids and the Falls. They are now about to take to the river in order to continue upstream into Lake Erie.]

The next morning we loaded & rowed out of the mouth of the Chippewa [in] about the middle of the stream into the Niagara river, which appeared to us, sitting in the boat, to pass on with a very moderate currant. We had got out but little into the Niagara river when its current struck the bow of the boat & turned it in an instant, [pointing it downstream]. I then perceived our danger. We were at the head of a descent of 160 or 70 feet in three miles (the distance from the mouth of

28. Tappan was told that this clearing became Hannibal by Martin Van Buren, who later came to own this land; Tappan, "First Settlement of Ravenna."

29. By this point Tappan had met up with others travelling to the Western Reserve, including David Hudson (1760-1836), of Goshen, Conn. Hudson left an account of the journey which at some points contradicts Tappan, just as, indeed, Tappan's later versions slightly disagree with his 1840 version. For Hudson's version, see Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* ((Cincinnati, 1847), 470-472 (all subsequent references to Howe will be to this edition); William H. Perrin, ed., *History of Summit County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1881), 413-417; Hatcher, *The Western Reserve*, 52-53.

Chippewa to the horse shoe fall) & the boat driving down with great velocity. Very fortunately I was steering & my hands sat with their backs to the shore & were ignorant of the danger. I said, "We must go ashore again, so pull steady, steady." They gave three strong pulls before I could perceive that the boat gained any the least head way towards shore, then it began to move a little that way. I kept encouraging them & they saw we were in a strong current & exerted themselves so that we reached the wing dam of Bridgewater mill about half way to the falls & were saved.[30]

This I think the most perilous adventure of my life. We towed our boat back into Chippewa creek where I stopped only to tell the inhabitants (who had stood on the bank & had seen us going into such peril without giving us any caution) my mind as to their unfeeling conduct. This made so strong an impression on me that I was really gratified that the whole village was destroyed in the war of 1812.

When we got to Black rock ferry [the crossing at the head of the Niagara River], the ice was running out of Lake Erie in large masses. Five boats beside mine were waiting to cross & we agreed to attempt the passage. We drew lots to see which should lead & my boat was the second. We put in & the leading boat soon got discouraged & put back. I had got so sick of Canada that I was determined to cross at all hazards. We succeeded, but we were driven down to the lower end of an island about a mile and a half lower down the river than we put in.

We passed the mouth of Buffaloe creek about three miles, & there beached, an operation which consisted in unloading our boat & moving it up on rollers well out of the water. Where we were we had a ride [ridge] of sand between Lake Erie & the swamp, & we pitched our tent on the side next the swamp & had our boat by the side of the tent next the lake. This was the evening of the 25th of May ["my birthday"], &, except an open space along the shore, the lake was full of ice for 30 miles to the west. That night the wind blew strong from the North west & the next morning the ice was piled up between the boat & lake 10 or 12 feet high with a base of 20 or 25 feet, compleatly heming us in & extending round on both shores of the lake as far as the eye could reach. I think that at no time since has the ice remained in Lake Erie so late in the season. ["It was out of the question to think of getting the boat thro the ice to the water, so we remained in our prison another night during which the wind blew a gale. In the morning of the 27th our

30. "As I steped out on the land I fainted & fell completely exhausted. We had gone down a descent of what is said to be 50 feet per mile."

window of ice was all washed away except enough scattering cakes to shew where it had been & the lake was clear."] At that time there was a small log building where Buffalo now stands, occupied by Dr. Chapin who was a trader, or agent of government, with the Indians.

I had dismissed one of my hands who was troublesome & I thought dishonest. We had left [in the party] Kellog and his family, Bela Sylvester, who I had hired at Northampton, Massachusetts, & David Hudson, whom I had taken on at Gerundagut and was giving him [and his hired men] passage on to New Connecticut where he was going to make a settlement, which he afterwards called by his own name. On the 27th we started on our way &, after some days rowing and delays with headwind, we got into the mouth of the Cuyahoga River.[31]

The only settler where is now the city of Cleveland was Lorenzo Carter, who lived by the river bank.[32] We were joined here by a boat of Hudson's, which kept company with us to an open meadow on the Cuyahoga bottom which is now the township of Boston, Summit County, Ohio. Here I unloaded my boat & made a tent of the sail to cover the goods & Kellog's family, & with B. Sylvester set to work to make a road to Ravenna. I run a line with my compass & he cut out bushes enough for a sled to be got along, & in this way we made a road to Ravenna in two days. We arrived there on 10th June. I found Homes with the cattle; he had got there a few days before me.

[One of the difficulties facing the first settlers of the Western Reserve was that, as a result of the complicated process of partition and allotment, each proprietor had lands in the heart of the forest, miles from the nearest places of settlement. So Tappan and Hudson needed to penetrate inland up the Cuyahoga, which in places had, at that season, only eight or ten inches of water, and then find their way eastwards to their allotted townships. Fortunately the first parties of surveyors, beginning in 1796, had divided the Reserve into townships (numbered every five miles from south to north) and ranges (numbered every five miles from east to west), and had marked the boundary lines, usually by cutting notches into trees. These lines were much used by the pioneers as a means of finding their route and locating their lands, yet it was to take Hudson "six days' laborious and painful search" before "he

31. Tappan gives an explicit account of these delays in his "First Settlement of Ravenna."

32. Lorenzo Carter settled in Cleveland in 1797 and helped to build up the settlement, trading with the Indians, providing accommodation for pioneers, and even beginning the shipbuilding industry.

discovered, towards night, a line which led to the south-west corner of his township."][33]

Making a Settlement, 1799-1800

In the first place [we] made a dray ["of birch saplings"] to haul our goods on. As soon as the dray was made, I sent Sylvester for a barrel of flour & one of pork. He brought them back & informed me that he found my tent abandoned & it appeared that some of the property had been stolen. The truth was that, as soon as I had left Kellog & his family to take care of my property on the Cuyahoga untill Sylvester & I could make a road & remove it, David Hudson made Kellog an offer of 200 acres of land as a gift to go into his township and keep house for him. Kellog yielded to this temptation & left my tent & goods to be plundered by the Indians. This was all the compensation I got from Hudson for giving him a passage from the Genesee country to New Connecticut.

In the hurry of getting the goods over, we [over] heat one of the oxen so that he sickened & died before we had finished.[34] This was a great misfortune & one that appeared remediless, as I had expended all but one dollar of my money. I immediately sent Homes thro' the woods to the fort at Presqueisle [now Erie, Pennsylvania] with a letter to the Commandant requesting him to give me money for a draft on my father. Capt. Cornelius Lyman, an acquaintance of ours, commanded there & readily complied with my request. In the mean time I determined to try my credit to make up my team, as my property was very

33. Howe, *Historical Collections*, 470. We have what appears to be a fragment of Tappan's own diary, recording these last stages of the journey in slightly different terms: "Arived at No. 4-11th R. [i.e., Township 4, 11th Range]. *9th June 1799* left the boat & c. with Kellog & family. Doct. Miner, Hudson, Blinn & two of Hudson's men set out with me to run a line from the boats to where the Indian path intersects the 9th Meridian. *10th June* MEM [Memorandum]: Hudson had agreed to assist me in cutting a road from my boat to No. 3-8th. We went on untill we reached the Cuyahoga at Standing Stone and blundered about to find the crossing place—Pease's Map not correct in this place. Hudson tired, would go no farther. I told him of his agreement—made no impression. (MEM: Hudson was converted last winter from Deism to Deviltry). Camped for the night. Musquetoes, gnats &c. &c. very busy. *June 11th* Hudson arose from his bed of turf & with much solemnity bade me farewell & took off one of his men with him. The rest of us made the best of our way on to No. 3-8th. As we did not know where Mr. Homes had come to anchor, we frequently halted for him. We found him at last near the west end of Granger's pond [one mile south of Ravenna] with a beard of two inches length. He had been there a fortnight & nothing to eat or drink but milk. Our sudden appearance somewhat deranged his intellect, but he recovered after swallowing about 2 pounds of raw pork. Thus ended the journey out." Tappan Papers, OHS.

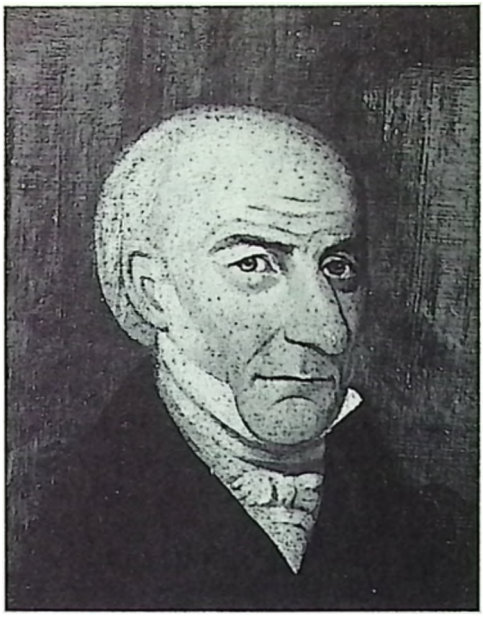
34. According to Hudson, all the oxen were troubled by blood-sucking flies, which "actually killed one of Tappan's oxen this season." Howe, *Historical Collections*, 471.

much exposed at the tent. [He also needed a second ox because "unless mine had a mate no ploughing could be done." As he had also lost the horse which Homes had brought with the cattle, Tappan had to travel on foot, using the surveyors' lines to guide him.] So as there was no road in that country, I took the township line, the north line of the township numbered two, & travelled on that East untill I came to a road from Warren to Youngstown. I went to Youngstown & found no difficulty in persuading James Hillman, Esq., to trust me with an ox which I thought would be a good mate for mine.[35] I tied a rope round the horns of the ox and in less than a day I led him the way I had come back to Ravenna. Fortunately he proved a very excellent match for my ox, but these things so delayed my work that I was not able to raise any provisions that season. While the pork I had brought on lasted, we lived on that & such wild meat as we bought of the Indians. When the pork was gone, we depended on the Indians & our hunting for meat, & sent to Pennsylvania for flour.[36]

On the 10th of July Hudson came to see me. He looked very grave &, as he was a very religious man, I suspected at once that he had got tired of Kellog & had come to get me to take him off his hands. I let him begin, however, which, after sitting a few minutes, he did by saying, "Squire Tappan, I have done wrong in inducing Kellog to break his contract with you, & I have now come to ask you to forgive me & I hope God will forgive me." My reply was, "You did a very roguish trick in getting Kellog to leave my goods to be plundered by the Indians & to break his contract with me. God will do as he pleases as to pardoning you, but, as to myself, if you mean by my pardoning you that I will take Kellog back again, I shall do no such thing. You thought by getting him from me you was gaining some advantage, & you now

35. Col. James Hillman (1762-1848), a Pennsylvanian, fought in the West in the Revolutionary War, then settled in Pittsburgh and traded with the Ohio Indians and conveyed goods by land as far as Detroit. He commenced the settlement of Youngstown in 1796 (though Tappan claimed the date was 1798) and he built what was perhaps the first house on the Western Reserve. He was remembered for his essential services to subsequent pioneers; in this instance his decision to sell Tappan an ox "on credit at a fair price" was "an act of generosity which proved of great value, as the want of a team must have broken up his settlement" (*Democratic Review*, VII, 435). Howe, *Historical Collections*, 339, and Tappan's MS critique, Tappan Papers, OHS.

36. In his later account of "The First Settlement of Ravenna," Tappan slightly contradicts these last statements. After securing the second ox from Hillman, "we made the wood work for our farming tools, cleared & fenced in a garden plot & a field on the bottom of about four acres, & planted them. The corn was planted on the 26 of June & yielded a good crop." See also additional information about the first winter in First Settlement.



The "ungratefull & dishonest" David Hudson (1760-1836). WESTERN RESERVE ACADEMY

find him a lazy, worthless fellow, a burden instead of a help to you. This is as it should be. You have punished yourself for your ungratefull & dishonest conduct towards me. There let it rest & let us think no more about it." I then began upon some other subject & Kellog was never again mentioned.[37]

This Hudson was a singular character, a man of impulses, at the time I knew him very religious, a zealous Federalist, and, what perhaps exhibits his character as well as any one thing, he joined a Masonic lodge after he was 60 years of age. He published what he called an account of the first settlement of Portage Co. in a religious newspaper,[38] in which he did not (as I hear) mention my name. He calls himself the first settler in that County. This is doubly untrue, first as respects myself & second Abraham Honey, who built a small cabbin in Mantua in the fall of 1798 &

37. Hudson made this visit on a Monday & "found Tappan & his hands resting, supposing it to be Sunday, for it seemed they had lost the true reckoning." Tappan's critique of Howe, Tappan Papers, OHS.

38. Tappan is probably referring to a series of articles, drawing on Hudson's reminiscences but written by the Rev. John Seward and published in the Hudson *Observer* about 1835.

was living there with his family when Hudson & I went into the Reserve. Having wintered there & made a small clearing, he was the first white man who settled in Portage County.

[Tappan was deeply annoyed by Hudson's account, which had emphasized "the privations and hardships of the undertaking, giving himself considerable credit with scarce an allusion to Tappan,"[39] since Tappan had conducted him from Lake Ontario and Hudson had generally preferred to travel in Tappan's boat rather than in his own. The clash between the two men was, however, basically one of temperament and outlook, in which Tappan was also to blame. For example, in 1801 Hudson, like the good neighbor he was, invited Tappan to give the oration at a July Fourth celebration to be held at his cabin in Hudson. To the annoyance of his more religious hearers, including the missionary Joseph Badger, Tappan's oration was "interlaced with many grossly illiberal remarks about Christians and Christianity."[40] Hudson himself was to play a decisive role in the development of the Reserve, building up orthodox religious and educational institutions, including Western Reserve College. In the end, even Tappan acknowledged that "David Hudson was an honest & very devout man, but was too weak to resist temptation. It is rare that men of so much pretention to sanctity are honest, but Hudson was an exception, notwithstanding his conduct as to Kellogg & some other aberrations, & his general character & deportment was that of an honest man."][41]

As I determined to spend the winter there, I made preparation to build a log cabbin, but could not accomplish it untill the six months for which Sylvester was engaged had expired & he and Homes left me to return to New England.[42] I was left entirely alone for 21 days, expecting one [Benjamin] Bixby & his family to come on to settle there on 100 acres of land I had given him on condition of settlement.

[The great inducement Bixby, or Bigsby, had to offer was his wife, who was to take over the cooking from Tappan. "I had done most of our cooking during the summer, and was quite tired of it. . . . I did not feel as though I ran much risk in getting a woman to do my cooking and

39. *Democratic Review*, VII, 549.

40. Joseph Badger, *Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Badger* (Hudson, 1851), 26-27.

41. Tappan's MS critique of Howe's *Historical Collections*, 470, 473, Tappan Papers, OHS.

42. Homes had wished to see the land Tappan offered before he moved his family on to it. Though he liked the land, he never came back from Vermont. He apparently disliked farming, though he was an able surveyor and had found no difficulty in travelling hundreds of miles through the forest by himself. Tappan, "First Settlement of Ravenna" and critique of Howe, *ibid.*

washing, the latter of which had not been as well done as the former during the summer."] After Bixby had got on & we were ready to raise our cabbin, two men of the name of Purviance, Quakers of Brownsville in Penn[sylvani]a, came along. They were looking for land. At my request they joined us in raising a cabbin of 22 feet by 18 a story and a half high. [The cabin was raised and shingled in a single day. Tappan had found it difficult to gain assistance from neighbouring settlements because some settlers had returned East for the winter, while others considered the season too advanced for a "raising." The two Quakers who came to his assistance refused payment; according to his later account, they came from Smithfield in Jefferson County, Ohio. Thereafter] Bixby & I worked dilligently to make the cabbin habitable by good puncheon floors & chunking, & on the 1st of January 1800 we moved into it. Untill then we had lived in a bark camp, as it was called. It was a place about eight feet square, open towards the East & close on the other three sides & on top, built of Linn bark.[43] At the front side it was high enough for a man to stand up & it sloped back to about 2 feet of the ground. Our fire was in front, in the open air.

Nothing remarkable occurred this first winter. I found use for all my mechanical skill in making furniture for my house & tools for farming. I split puncheons of cherry (which was abundant) &, having hewed them thin enough, made partitions so as to divide my cabbin into three rooms. In February about 20 inches of snow fell, and, as we were entirely out of flour, I took my oxen & sled & went to buy some. I first went of William's mill near Greensburg, but could get none there; the mill was frozen so that it could not grind. I went from there across the Ohio River at Georgetown about 3 miles to Laughlan's mill.[44] There I bought a barrel of corn meal—no flour was to be had, so I went home with that. On my way between Canfield & Deerfield one of my oxen was taken sick & I had to go on without my sled to Deerfield, where I got someone to go back for it & in this way I hired it hauled to Ravenna. With good care my ox recovered, but my barrel of meal cost me much labour & money.

43. Linn is Basswood or American Linden. Puncheons were pieces of timber split from trees about 18 inches in diameter, and hewed smooth with a broad-axe; they usually ran about half the length of the cabin floor. "Chunking" means filling the crevices between the logs forming the walls with "chinks," or split pieces of wood, and then daubing them with mud.

44. The early pioneers of Portage County had to travel 45 miles to the nearest grist mill, until water-powered mills were built locally in 1801 and 1802. *History of Portage County*, 248, 393, 521. William's mill had been specially provided by the Connecticut Land Company for the convenience of settlers.

In the spring of 1800 I hired two good ax men & much extended my clearing. Settlements were commenced in Deerfield, Aurora & Atwater, & some families came into Mantua & Nelson. Settlements had been commenced in 1799 in Canfield & Warren.

In June 1800 two Indian men & a child were shot by Joseph McMahon & another fellow at the Salt Springs, & in August or September Gov. St. Clair & Judges Gilman & Meigs of the Supreme Court & Mr. Bachus, an Attorney of Marietta, came to Youngstown to try McMahon for murder, he having been taken.[45] I was employed by a friend of the prisoner to assist in the defense. The counsel he had employed were Stark Edwards of Warren & Cunningham Semple of Pittsburg.[46] He was acquitted. This was the first cause I ever argued to a jury &, as I knew both my associate counsel thought our client ought to be hanged, I felt that his fate probably depended on what I might say. I was very much embarrassed, so much so that it would have been impossible for me to proceed beyond a few sentences which I had committed to memory for a beginning, but Bachus, who sat by me, seeing my embarrassment, said over some sentences ending with "I will read you the law upon this subject," which I repeated after him & then read my authorities, by which I gathered confidence to go on. I gained some reputation by my defense of the prisoner, but the settlement was too new to give me much business.[47]

Return to New England, 1800-1801

In December I went a journey to Northampton on horseback, in company with four others who were returning to New England. We found tollerable accomodations untill we came to the settlement of Lowry at 16 mile creek (east of Erie). From this to Buffalo there was no

45. The Salt Springs on the Mahoning were an early place of concentration for both Indians and white men. Arthur St. Clair (1736-1818), a Scot by birth, after careers in the British and Revolutionary armies and in Pennsylvania politics, was appointed Governor of the Northwest Territory in 1787. He was particularly concerned about relations with the Indians. Joseph Gilman, the father of Benjamin Ives Gilman, moved from New Hampshire to Marietta as one of its earliest settlers. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr. (1764-1825) was a Yale-educated lawyer who was appointed a judge of the territorial Supreme Court in 1798. He later became Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, U.S. Senator, Governor of Ohio (1810-1814), and U.S. Postmaster-General (1814-1823). Elijah Backus, who later became an active Republican politician and editor in Marietta, on this occasion acted as prosecuting attorney.

46. John Stark Edwards (1777-1813), a grandson of Jonathan Edwards and related to Tappan, represented his father's extensive proprietorial interests. He was to become the leading lawyer on the Reserve.

47. On the McMahon case, see Howe, *Historical Collections*, 480-81.

inhabitants but Indians, & no road but an Indian path. Each man laid in his own stores for himself & horse. The first night we had rain & some freezing. We laid down round a large fire. I had two large bear skins, one under & the other over me, & was able to sleep some. The others took turns in crawling under my bear skin which would shed the rain off of two of them at a time. The next night we got to Cataraguas where we found shelter in the hut of a Canadian Frenchman who was living there with an Indian woman. My companions had consumed the last of their provisions. What I had left I divided with them at noon. That night we got to Buffalo & put up at Landon's tavern. From this to Northampton I had no difficulty, as the country was so well settled that I could put up at taverns to [the] Genesee river, & beyond that the settlement was well advanced.

In about a fortnight after my return [to New England], I went to Hartford [Connecticut] on some business connected with our purchase of land, & at the same time made a visit to my friend Todd at Farmington. Todd went over to Berlin with me to visit Doctor Sylvester Wells & Elnathan Smith, with whom we were intimate.[48] At Smith's I saw again (after nine years) Miss Nancy Wright, with whom I had formerly had a slight acquaintance. I returned the next day to Farmington with Todd &, after staying one night with him, I left him for home, but I concluded to take Berlin in my way where I spent two days with Miss Wright. In the spring we were married & started in a waggon drawn by two horses for the Western Reserve. We went from Berlin thro' Litchfield, New Windsor, Easton, Harrisburg & Bedford to Pittsburg; thence by the way to Poland, Deerfield, & Atwater to Ravenna. We were 45 days from Berlin to Ravenna. I drove my own waggon, in which I carried my wife & her sister with a rather full load of furniture. It was a very tedious journey & was not without its variety of incidents, tho' not of sufficient importance to be here mentioned.

Pioneer Politics

[Initially the Western Reserve had no government because the right of jurisdiction was disputed between Connecticut and the federal government. In May 1800 Connecticut released her claims to jurisdiction, with the result that the Reserve came under the government of the Northwest Territory, headed by the increasingly unpopular Governor

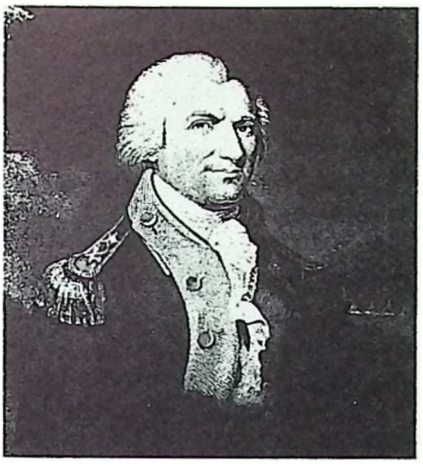
48. These three were all active leaders of the Republican and Tolerationist cause in Connecticut. Wells was a Yale-educated Universalist, Smith an Episcopalian attorney. For Todd, see n. 13.

Arthur St. Clair, who was appointed by, and responsible to, the federal government. The Reserve was organized as Trumbull County in July 1800, and its first military and civilian officials appointed. There was already a strong move afoot, however, to advance from "colonial" status to the greater autonomy of statehood—a move in the direction of greater popular rule which Tappan was wholeheartedly to support.]

We began to talk about a State government. All but the officers were tired of the Territorial government. I had seen Govr. St. Clair & got acquainted with him at Youngstown. He offered me a commission as Justice of the Peace, which I declined accepting, telling him that I could not hold office under a government I was endeavoring to change. He thanked me for my frankness. I was first introduced to him at John Young's in Youngstown. He invited me to drink with him. I did so. He poured into a half pint tumbler about a gill of Brandy &, after adding a small quantity of water, drank it. I had heard of his drinking powers & therefore observed, & counted that after me 24 gentlemen were introduced to him the same evening, with every one of whom he drank about the same quantity of brandy, & yet he seemed as steady & conversed as well as early in the evening. St. Clair required more than his salary to supply him with drink, & to get this he made a regulation by which he allowed himself fees for almost every thing he did. For instance, he required every one who wished to marry to obtain a licence from him, & some he made pay more & some less for it, according to their ability. The late Jeremiah McLane of Columbus told me that he paid him fifteen dollars for a licence to marry his wife. He sent me a licence to practice law & a message with it to send him $20 as a fee. I sent back the licence with a message that I could practice law without a licence. I heard no more about it.[49]

The next evening after I was introduced to St. Clair, I found him after supper in his room alone & entered into conversation with him on the subject of organizing the militia. After conversing a few minutes, say[s] he, "why don't you attend the meeting?" I told him I knew of no meeting. "I am surprised at that. There is a meeting up chamber on this subject & I wish you would attend it." I told him, altho' I was not invited, at his request I would seek admission to the meeting. I went up

49. The demand for arbitrary fees was one of the main complaints that the statehood party levelled against St. Clair. David M. Massie, *Nathanieal Massie, A Pioneer of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1896), 79, 180, 186, 195. Jeremiah McLene (1767-1837), a Pennsylvanian who had served in the Revolutionary War, had a distinguished career in the public service in Ohio, first as Assemblyman (1807-1808), then as the longest-serving Secretary of State (1808-1831), and finally as a Democratic Congressman from 1833 until his death.



Territorial Governor Arthur St. Clair, who, according to Tappan, "required more than his salary to supply him with drink." SOCIETY COLLECTION

stairs & found in a small back room Simon Perkins, John Stark Edwards, John Young, Calvin Pease, George Tod & about half a dozen more, all officers of the territorial government, making out a nomination of themselves for the various militia offices.[50] I proposed to them to leave it to the people to make the nominations at the approaching election at Warren for Representative in the assembly (or at the next court, I am not certain which). They said at once that St. Clair would not agree to any such thing. I urged them to try it & see what he would say, whereupon the meeting appointed me a committee to wait on the Govr. & request him to refer the nominations to the people. I went down to him immediately & had no difficulty in persuading him to leave the nomination to be made at the next county meeting. I soon returned with this consent of the Govr., to the great disappointment of the meeting.

The appointment to the civil offices had been before made, in this way. The Connecticut Land company made out a nomination for

50. Each of these men represented an important landed interest on the Reserve. Simon Perkins (1771-1844) was land agent for the Erie Company (a consortium of 19 proprietors) and was to be highly important in the commercial development of northern Ohio.

sheriff, judges, clerk of the court, Recorder, &c., and sent [John] Stark Edwards with it to Cincinnati to get it confirmed. This was in 1799 [1800].[51] St. Clair, who knew nothing about the persons nominated, made the appointments accordingly. Edwards got the most lucrative office, that of Recorder; [Calvin] Pease the next, that of clerk; John Young, in consideration of making the first settlement in 1798 at Youngstown, was made chief judge of the county court; [John] Kinsman, [James] Kingsbury & . . . [?] Griswold? were appointed judges; [David] Abbot sheriff.[52]

In the fall, I think October [1800], there was a court held at Warren & in the evening we organized a meeting to nominate militia officers. Judge Kingsbury was chairman & I was secretary of the meeting. Young and the other officers of the territorial government tried to break up the meeting, but, finding they could not do this, they withdrew & made out a nomination for themselves which they got appointed by the governor. Mean time we went on with the meeting of the democracy & nominated officers. I then drew up an address to the Governor telling him very plainly the duty of a governor of a free state & recommending the appointment of our nominees. The address was a very plain spoken thing, for as I was well assured that the recommendation of the office holders would have most influence with the Govr., I drew up the recommendation for political effect. It was adopted unanimously but was disregarded by St. Clair.

In May 1801 [?], Elijah Boardman of Connecticut & Eli Baldwin came to my house to see me. Boardman owned considerable land on the Reserve & was a Democrat.[53] His visit to me was to induce me to do what in these times is called "taking the stump" in favor of going into a state government. I coincided with him in opinion but could not agree to travel over the Reserve. The Deerfield people, however, invited me to deliver to them an oration on the approaching 4th July & collected a considerable number of people for so new a settlement. I

51. [Mary L. W. Moore, ed.,] *Diary of Turhand Kirtland* (Poland, Ohio, 1903), 34 (entry for July 27, 1800); Conlin, *Simon Perkins*, 35-36.

52. John Kinsman was a wealthy proprietor who had founded the town of Kinsman, Trumbull County. James Kingsbury, whom Tappan considered the first settler on the Reserve, had settled with his wife at Conneaut in 1796. David Abbot (1765-1822), a Yale graduate and a lawyer, emigrated from Massachussetts in 1798 and settled in what is now Willoughby. He sat in the Constitutional Convention of 1802 and in the General Assembly, and in 1809 moved to Huron county, where he laid out the town of Milan.

53. Eli Baldwin was one of Boardman's first settlers, a land agent and merchant, whose long career culminated politically when he ran as Jacksonian candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1836.

Samuel Huntington (1770-1818). SOCIETY COLLECTION

discussed the question of state government & pointed out the advantages of such a government over the arbitrary sway of St. Clair. I got this oration printed & circulated over the Reserve, & at the next fall election, when Genl. Paine was chosen our first representative, we were unanimous (with the exception of the officers of the territorial government) in instructing him to work for a state government. The Genl. promised to do so, but he forfeited his word & voted against going into a state government.[54] The majority of the assembly, however, decided to call a convention, & in August 1802 we elected Saml. Huntington & David Abbot our delegates. I voted for them both. Hun-

54. Edward Paine (1746-1841), the former Revolutionary soldier and Indian trader who founded Painesville in 1800. Paine voted with other Trumbull County representatives in favor of dividing Ohio at the Scioto, which would mean postponing statehood. Tappan's dates are confusing around this period. His July Fourth oration of 1801 was delivered at Hudson, according both to Joseph Badger and to the MS copy of the oration, Library of Congress. The Deerfield address was most probably delivered either later in 1801, in time for Paine to be instructed before the Assembly actually met (as the statehood leaders advised), or perhaps in 1802 just before the elections for the state convention.

tington was elected by a majority of one over me, so that, if I had voted for myself & Abbott, I should have been elected.[55]

The Convention sat in Decr. & formed the present constitution of the state. They gave the Reserve one senator & two representatives, & appointed the election in the month of February, & the first session of the assembly in April 1803. The nearest Post office at this time was Canfield 27 miles distant, & we sent there but seldom & had but little communication in that season of the year. I heard of the apportionment of Representation for the Reserve & offered myself as a candidate for the senate & had a fair prospect of success. Shortly before the time fixed for the election I received a letter from Huntington informing me that the election was to be holden at the two places of holding the election (Warren & Painesville) on the day of February, of which I gave notice to the inhabitants of what was since the County of Portage. Two weeks before the time mentioned in Huntington's letter as the time for holding the election, Alijah Peck rode up to my house at a little past ten o'clock in the morning & asked me why I had not gone to the election. This was the first intimation I had as to the true time of holding the election. It was about a day's ride to Warren &, if I had started with him, it was doubtfull whether I could reach Warren before the election would close. So I remained at home, as did every voter in that part of the Reserve included in the late county of Portage, all deceived by the false statement of Huntington. As I did not attend the election, it was generally supposed that the story circulated by the friends of Huntington that I had declined being a candidate was true, & I got but few votes. Huntington was elected senator. This trick of Huntington's easily succeeded because I did not then know him.[56]

About 10 days before the sitting of the Assembly, Calvin Pease made me a visit.[57] He said he had come out to see if I would not be a candidate for the office of President of the court of common Pleas. He did not know any lawyer in the circuit fit for the office but me, for, as to himself, all he wanted was to be continued as clerk of the Court. I had

55. Samuel Huntington (1770-1818), of Connecticut and Yale, settled in Cleveland in 1800 and later became Supreme Court Justice in 1804 and Governor in 1808. The Convention was called, not by the territorial Assembly, but by Congress.

56. As Tappan's father said, he really should have taken proper pains to learn about the new Constitution and the prescribed dates of elections. Benjamin Tappan (Sr.) to Tappan, April 22, 1803, Tappan Papers, LC. The election was actually held in January.

57. Calvin Pease (1776-1839), the brother-in-law of Gideon Granger and an old friend of Tappan with whom he shared an anticlerical outlook, moved west from Connecticut in 1800 and settled as a lawyer in Warren in 1803. After serving this one term as President Judge, Pease became a justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, 1816-1830.

not thought of the possibillity of being elected to that office nor did I wish to have it, but I *knew* Pease &, as he had come 30 miles to see me & staid all night, I appeared to him to wish for the office &, as he said he was going to Chilicothe & would do all he could to promote my success with the assembly, I thanked him & he went away satisfied that he had duped me. I told my friends that Pease was a candidate for the office of Prest. Judge and would get it, as he would have no competitor, & so it turned out. I had cause to regret playing this game with Pease. I had better at once have declined his insincere offer, for, as it turned out, he believed he had duped & deceived me & was ever after my most bitter enemy, &, as he was destitute of moral principle, he injured me greatly in all my business before him in the common Pleas.

At our first election under the constitution Capt. Wadsworth of Canfield was elected sheriff.[58] The first assembly under the Constitution elected Huntington one of the judges of the supreme court, which vacated the office of senator from Trumbull Co. I determined to be a candidate for the office. I do not recollect who the Federalists ran in opposition to me, but I succeeded by a large majority. Ephm. Quinby & David Abbot were the representatives.[59] The assembly met at Chilicothe on the 1st Monday of Dec., 1803. We had a very busy session. I drew up an act for the partition of real estate which passed and has remained, with but slight alterations, the law of the state ever since.[60] I also drew up & reported a bill establishing boards of county Commissioners, which passed (before this the business had been done by a court of quarter sessions consisting of the justices of the peace); also a bill for organizing & discipling the militia, which passed; & many other laws.[61]

58. Elijah Wadsworth (1747-1817) was a leading man in Canfield, in the southeastern corner of the Reserve, and a business associate of Tappan. In 1804 he was to be appointed one of the four Major-Generals in command of the Ohio Militia.

59. Ephraim Quinby, proprietor and founder, in 1799, of Warren, was an influential leader of the early pioneers, especially since Warren was named county seat in 1800.

60. Tappan's claim is a little exaggerated, since his bill was based on an act drawn up by Jacob Burnet and passed by the Territorial Legislature in 1801. The purpose of the act was to enable, upon petition, the division of any land held jointly. Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), 330.

61. These measures can all be interpreted as furthering the democratization of the state. The reform of local government shifted power from officials appointed by the territorial government to commissioners elected by the various county electorates; the militia were to elect their own officers; while the partition of real estate would facilitate the break-up of large landed estates, just as, indeed, the taxing of lands owned by non-residents would encourage wealthy Eastern landholders to sell their lands quickly and cheaply to actual settlers.

A very important question was agitated this session, whether the lands of non-resident proprietors should be taxed. I took the affirmative of this question, & drew up & advocated the bill which was passed for laying & collecting a land tax. My constituents paid at that time one fourth part of the land tax & so were deeply interested in the question. After we returned home [David] Abbot, who disliked me much, circulated a tale that I had been opposed to taxing non-residents & gave it extensive circulation before I heard of it.[62] It had the effect to prevent my election, or indeed to prevent my being taken up as a candidate again. Afterwards when the truth became known Abbot's character suffered for this falsehood, added to many others. [On the other hand, as his father said, Tappan was so irritable and tactless that he repeatedly provoked quarrels and so created enmities which prevented his election to the public offices his talents deserved.][63]

Captain Elijah Wadsworth, a very intimate friend of mine, had been elected Major General of the division we lived in (the 4th) & he urged me to accept the office of aid to him, because he wanted my help in organizing the militia. He had been a good cavalry officer in Sheldon's regiment of light horse in the Revolution but knew nothing of infantry regulations or tactics. I accepted the office & was commissioned as a Major.

This same season (1804) we had an election at Deerfield at which a justice of the peace was to be chosen. Robt. Eaton, who lived near me,[64] was a candidate & our best informed people, fearfull that he would be elected, strongly urged me to be a candidate. I gave way to their request reluctantly, knowing that it would be a very troublesome office. My commission came on in Oct. & I had it a year without taking the oath of office. Eaton complained much of this & I, finding that he was getting up a party to force a new election, took the oath of office in 1805. I acted in this office about a year & then resigned. I lived during this time about a mile from any other person &, when I held a justice's court, I entertained all parties & witnesses, because they could not well do without food for themselves & horses. This, and my never charging any fees, made the office rather burthensome & I was glad to be rid of it. I continued in the practice of the law in Trumbull & Columbiana Counties, ~~having after I resigned moved to Canfield in Oct. or Nov. 1806.~~

62. Elijah Backus to Tappan, August 24, 1804, Tappan Papers, LC.
63. Benjamin Tappan (Sr.) to Tappan, August 9, 1805, *ibid.*
64. Robert Eaton settled in the township in 1802 and built a house which was later used as Court House and Jail until the completion of the first public buildings in 1810.

In June 1806 I went with my wife to New England on horseback. We rode from Canfield to Litchfield in Connecticut in eleven days. We spent the summer in New England with our friends, & in October I accompanied my wife to Philadelphia where I parted with her, she going with her brother James to Petersburg in Va. & I returned to Ohio. I stopped in Canfield, where I had resided a few months, & was visited by the agent of Colo. Burr, who laboured to engage me in his expedition, preparations for which were then going on at Beaver.[65] I soon suspected there was some villainy in the business & endeavour'd to find out what it was, but could not learn more than that many persons were engaged in a military expedition southward. I went on in December to spend the winter with my wife &, on my way, called in Washington City on Genl. Dearborn, the then secretary of war, & told him what I knew about the matter. He told me that all Burr's movements were watched & that every step he took was known by the President. [Indeed, Jefferson had already sent his agent to the West to investigate Burr's preparations and to warn the local authorities. Governor Edward Tiffin of Ohio took steps to prevent the expedition, and by December 15 could report the seizure of nearly all its boats and supplies.]

I stopped but one day in Washington & went on to Petersburg [Virginia]. I staid there untill about the 20th Feby. 1807, when we returned to Ohio. I stopped three days to hear the debates in Congress. The House of Representatives was then a body in which there was great order & decorum. Nathaniel Macon was the speaker. I heard John Randolph, Josiah Quincy, James Smiley [*sic*], Wm. Findley, Benj. Tallmadge & some others.[66]

65. Tappan was apparently under some obligation to Burr for the part Burr had played in securing Tappan's admission to the bar in Connecticut; *Democratic Review*, VII, 553.

66. The House had been troubled by scenes of disorder on several occasions in the late 1830s. Nathaniel Macon (1758-1837) of North Carolina served in Congress from 1791 to 1828 and was revered by Tappan as a consistent, high-principled Jeffersonian. Macon was Speaker of the House from 1801 to 1807, by the end of which time he was estranged from President Jefferson as a result of his support of John Randolph of Roanoke (1773-1833), who criticized the administration for behaving like Federalists. The brilliant but erratic Randolph served in Congress until 1829, and, like Macon, transmitted old party principles into the Jacksonian era. John Smilie was a member of Congress from Pennsylvania for a number of years. He died about the turn of the year, 1812-1813. William Findley (1741-1821), a Scotch-Irishman from Pennsylvania, was an expert defender of the interests of frontiersmen and another firm opponent of Federalist measures during his years in Congress, 1791-1799 and 1803-1817. Benjamin Tallmadge (1754-1835) of New York, a former revolutionary soldier, was a moderate Federalist of much influence even in the Republican Congresses of 1801-1807.

The Making of Ravenna, 1808-1809

As I had purchased the whole of my father's land in Ravenna, we returned to & settled again in that place. In the session of Assembly of 1807-8 the county of Portage was divided off from the county of Trumbull & my friends in the assembly put in Aaron Norton, Wm. Wetmore & Amzi Atwater associate judges. They held the first court at my house in May 1808.[67] I perceived great coldness in the judges towards me & for some time I was at a loss to account for it. It was owing to a lie that Stark Edwards had told them, which was that I had said they would know the God that made them. I shall not pretend to record the one thousandth part of the lies the Federalists told to injure me; this is one.

[On the other hand, this story does indicate the extent to which the creation of the new county was a personal triumph for Tappan. When the first serious proposals were made in 1805 to divide the Reserve into a number of counties it had appeared for some time as though the plan of division would place Ravenna township on the edge of a county. After political manoeuvrings, however, Trumbull County was divided up so as to place Ravenna township at the center of the new county of Portage. Accordingly, in the spring of 1808 Tappan laid out the town of Ravenna, which was duly selected as the county seat, though its removal was threatened for several years. Ravenna thereby became a focus of settlement, land values rose, and since Tappan had bought out his father's share in 1806, he soon became relatively wealthy.[68] However, he and his wife disliked living in Ravenna because of its lack of amenities, for, like other places on the Reserve, it settled only slowly and remained fairly crude, isolated and backward until the 1820s.][69]

In making the settlement of Ravenna, it was so far in advance of the other settlements that, to get people to settle there, I was at first

67. Unverified tradition claims that when the various officers arrived at Tappan's house to hold the first court, they found it burned to the ground. Tappan's failure to mention the incident casts further doubt on the tradition. It is true that the officers adjourned to Eaton's house, but this may have been a result of the hostility Tappan proceeds to refer to. Amzi Atwater, one of the original surveyors of 1796 and 1797, moved from Connecticut to Mantua in 1800. A large landholder and very public-spirited, he had a considerable influence on the development of the county. The associate judges were laymen who sat on the bench at county sessions of the Common Pleas court under the chairmanship of the President Judge for the District, who was usually a lawyer by profession.

68. Tappan to John Sloane, November 28, 1805, Tappan Papers, OHS. Tappan to Nancy Tappan, October 6, 1806, and John Tappan to Tappan, July 2, 9, September 6, 1809, Tappan Papers, LC.

69. Hatcher, *The Western Reserve*, 62-74.

obliged to take such as offered, & thus I got for my first settlers a parcel of rough fellows & some of them great villains & these kept off better men, for those who were of better character & in good circumstances would not settle there. Among them were Sam Simcox, Jo Wright & David Wright, horse thieves and the two latter forgers. After I had detected these fellows & arested some of them, the others with Moses Bradford burned down two cabbins & a barn & cut down all my apple trees. It was necessary to get rid of these fellows & I finally succeeded & in the spring of 1809 they had all cleared out. [These, no doubt, were the settlers who, according to Charles Whittlesey, moved over to the more idealistic community of Tallmadge, driven out of Ravenna "by the systematic oppression of a large proprieter (*sic*) and agent, Benjamin Tappan."][70]

But Ravenna was not a place in which much business was to be done in my profession, & besides, my family were without the reach of medical advice & assistance & my wife nearly lost her life by a premature parturition brought on by following the advice of Dr. Thompson of Hudson, a most miserable quack but the best doctor in our reach.[71] This reason determined me to remove to Steubenville, Pittsburg or Cinncinnati. About this time I was applied to by some persons in Jefferson County to undertake their suits & I went to Steubenville & attended the April court, 1809. I found the business here so promising that I bought me an house & agreed to take possession of it on the 13th May, on which day I accordingly moved into it. I immediately got into a very good practice, tho' it was more than a year before any of the Federal women called on my wife; we got along very comfortably without much society. When I went to Steubenville four Federal lawyers resided there, [David] Jennings, [?] King, [John] Patterson & [Jesse] Edgington. In less than four years they had all cleared out.

Dispute Over the Judiciary, 1809-1810.

In Dec. 1809 I was employed by John Bever to go to Chilicothe & attend the session of the assembly as what has since been called a lobby member.[72] Bever owned the town of Wooster in Wayne County

70. Quoted in Hatcher, *The Western Reserve,* 173. For a criticism of Tappan's treatment of his settlers, see his brother John's letter, February 12, 1811, Tappan Papers, LC.

71. Dr. Moses Thompson settled in Hudson in 1800, having been promised $50 in medicine by Hudson if he did so. Perrin, *Summit County,* 417-419.

72. John Bever, or Beaver, of Pennsylvania, founded and owned several towns in Ohio, including Wooster and Mansfield, in association with James Hedges and Joseph H. Larwill.

& the Commissioners had very improperly, as he thought, fixed on a place for the seat of justice two or three miles from Wooster, & my services were required to get the judgement of the Commissioners put aside & the seat of justice fixed at Wooster, which was accomplished without difficulty.[73] This session of the assembly Genl. [Duncan] McArthur was speaker of the Senate & Mr. Tiffin of the house. I boarded at Irwin's tavern where about 30 members of the assembly were.[74]

A very interesting question arose during this session which, as it has been much misrepresented, I will state with some minuteness. The constitution of Ohio has this provision: "the judges of the supreme court & the Presidents of the Courts of common Pleas shall hold their offices for the term of seven years if so long they shall behave themselves well & they shall receive for their services a compensation to be fixed by law which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office." The time was approaching when the first period or term of seven years from the first appointment of judges in April 1803 was about to expire, & it was agitated whether the Constitution had fixed a septenial term for the service of the judges so that those who had been elected to supply vacancies could only serve the residue of the term, or whether each judge was appointed for seven years. In favor of the former construction it was urged (beside the import of the words, which was supposed to favor that construction) that it was a rule of universal obligation so to construe a law or constitution as to give effect to every part of it, if possible, & in accordance with the will & interest of the law makers if that will & interest could be fairly inferred from the language used. Here, it was said, it is very evident that the makers of the constitution intended to put it in the power of the legisla-

73. The commissioners had chosen the Federalist-sponsored town of Madison, which consisted of only one building, whereas Wooster was growing rapidly. The decision was finally reversed, but not as smoothly as Tappan suggests. The General Assembly of 1809-1810 postponed action over the Wayne County seat, and not until 1811 were new commissioners appointed and Wooster chosen. See Edward T. Heald, *Bezaleel Wells, Founder of Canton and Steubenville, Ohio* (Canton, 1942), 92-100; Ohio, General Assembly, *House Journal, 1809-1810*, 296, 312-313, 359.

74. Duncan McArthur (1772-1818) had gained wealth through his pioneering work in surveying and locating warrants in the Virginia Military District of Ohio and had built his famous residence of Fruit Hill near Chillicothe in 1804-1805. Since 1805 he had served in the state senate, and he was later to gain distinction in the War of 1812 and as a congressman and governor (1830-1832). Edward Tiffin (1766-1829), an Englishman who emigrated to Virginia and married Thomas Worthington's sister, settled in Chillicothe in 1796 and became the first Governor of Ohio, 1803-1806. He subsequently sat in the U.S. Senate and the state legislature, and served as Commissioner of the U.S. Land Office and Surveyor-General of the West, 1813-1829.

ture to reduce the salaries of the judges at some time, if they should judge it expedient. Was this power intended to operate on the whole of the judges at the same time when they should all come into office together? Or at the three or four different periods as they might come into office in succeeding the incumbents? The constitution, it was urged, contemplates raising the salaries, if they are raised, at once when the necessity exists for raising them, & not periodically & in future as the present incumbents go out & new judges come in; & it was said that in no other way could that part of the constitution be carried into effect but by the legislature exercising the power of lowering the salaries of all the judges of the supreme court or of all the Presidents of the common Pleas at the same time. On the other hand it was said that the difficulty of lowering the salaries was merely imaginary, for a law could be passed that the salaries of the judges of the supreme court or Presidents of the common Pleas should be reduced from & after the expiration of the terms for which they have severally been elected.[75]

During this discussion the Democratic members of the assembly met at Irwin's to consult upon the matter. Mr. [Thomas] Morris, who was one of the judges of the supreme court,[76] & myself were present by invitation. Mr. Tiffin took the chair &, while they were talking about the matter, I wrote a resolution, in [the] form of a joint resolution of both houses, declaring what I thought a true construction of the constitution & resolving to proceed on such a day to elect three judges of the supreme court. I handed this resolution to Morris. He read it and told the meeting that it contained what he believed to be the true intent

75. Tappan's exposition of the issue has concealed the true nature of the contest. The dominant party in Ohio, the Democratic-Republicans, had divided in the course of 1807-1809 over the question of judicial review; did the state's judges have the power to nullify measures passed by the popularly-elected legislature if they considered the measures unconstitutional? The more democratic faction, with which Tappan was closely associated, decided that judges could not overrule the popular will, and that judges who did so (like Judges Pease, Huntington and Tod, all Tappan's personal rivals) must be removed as soon as possible. In 1808-1809 an attempt to impeach Pease and Tod failed narrowly to secure the necessary two-thirds majority. The idea of proposing a resolution that the terms of all state office-holders, including judges, would expire in 1810 was then adopted, since such a resolution would require only a bare majority of votes to pass it. The defenders of the judges naturally argued that this constitutional ploy was adopted by their rivals simply in order to secure all the offices of the state for their friends.

76. Thomas Morris (1776-1844), a Pennsylvanian who moved to Ohio in 1796 and became a lawyer in Clermont County, had been chosen in the 1808-1809 session to conduct the impeachment of the Supreme Court judges. Though the impeachment failed, he was appointed to the vacancy created by the election of Huntington as Governor, though Morris was never actually to exercise the office of Supreme Judge.

& meaning of the constitution; that any construction which would make each judge hold office for seven years was a plain violation of the constitution. Others expressed their opinion on the subject & it was put to vote, & the meeting, by a nearly unanimous vote, adopted it & determined that it should be offered in the house by [Samuel] Dunlap of Jefferson County. It was so offered & passed both houses.[77]

At the election consequent upon this proceeding, [Ethan Allen] Brown, [Thomas] Scott & [William W.] Irwin were elected judges of the S. Court.[78] I was run against Brown & he beat me on the 1st ballot. Morris was also a candidate & was beat by Scott on the second ballot. Morris was in my room at Irwin's near the state house during the election & Jere. Munson brought us word as to every balloting. [79] I was not much disappointed that Brown was preferred to me, but when Munson brought the account of Morris' defeat, Morris behaved like a perfect madman. He walked about the room striking his fists together &, with great vehemence, declared that he would not submit to it, he would hold on by his commission as judge of the supreme court which had several years to run yet to make up the seven years. He declared that before he would submit to be turned out of office in this way, he would carry the question up to the Supreme Court of the United States. I thought this conduct strange, but, what was still more so, on his return home he wrote an address to the people of the state in which he declared the "sweeping resolution," as it was called, a violation of the constitution, an unwarrantable invasion of his rights, & a measure against which he had warned the members of the assembly. Morris was

77. Ohio, *House Journal, 1809-1810.* Samuel Dunlap was an important manager of business in this legislature.

78. Interestingly, all three men later became Jacksonians. Ethan Allen Brown (1776-1852), a New Englander who settled in Cincinnati in 1804, later became Governor of Ohio (1818-1822), U. S. Senator (1822-1825), U.S. charge d'affaires in Brazil (1830-1834), and commissioner of the general land office, before moving to Indiana in 1836. William W. Irwin, or Irvin (1778-1842) was a Virginia lawyer who moved to Lancaster in 1801, served in the state legislature (1806-1808 and 1825-1827) and later in Congress, 1829-1833. Thomas Scott (1772-1856) was an active Chillicothe politician and lawyer who had been secretary of the constitutional convention.

79. Not quite. A common election was held for all three judges, each member having three votes and each successful candidate needing a majority of the members to vote for him. Scott and Irwin both gained majorities on the first ballot, with Tappan, Brown and Morris coming next. These three continued to be voted for, and not until the fourth ballot did the strongest of the three, Brown, gain an absolute majority. Ohio, *House Journal, 1809-1810,* 349-350.

not much noticed.[80] The new judges went on to discharge their duties very quietly, & the Federalists had influence enough to have all future elections held in utter disregard of the resolution so acted upon in Jany. 1810, & to stigmatise the sweeping resolution as a gross outrage upon the constitution.[81]

On my return home I found J. C. Wright (my wife's brother) with his wife & one child at my house. He had been broke up by libel suits. He engaged in the study of law with me & lived in my family untill he was admitted to the bar & was able to support himself.[82] In June 1811 I started on horseback with my wife for New England by the way of Buffalo. We spent the summer visiting our friends & returned in November, her health much improved.

War of 1812

In July following, war was declared, & on the 20th day of August I received by express a letter from Major General Wadsworth, dated at Cleveland, giving me an account of Hull's surrender of Detroit & the intelligence that the British & Indians were coming down the lake in great force destroying all before them, & ordering me to collect the

80. He was, however, elected to the next General Assembly, where he played an active part in securing the repeal of the "sweeping resolution" in January 1812. Tappan had good reason for denigrating Morris. In 1833, after over twenty years in the Assembly, Morris had been elevated as a Jacksonian to the United States Senate where he began to attack slavery on abolitionist grounds and refused to obey the Democratic party line. When the Democratic majority in the state legislature accordingly refused to re-elect him in 1839, Morris deserted the Democrats and became one of the leaders of the new Liberty Party in 1840. Tappan had been elected to the Senate in Morris's place, and, as a moderate opponent of slavery himself, clearly wished to show that Morris was altogether an unreliable man.

81. Just such a criticism had been published in 1838 by Caleb Atwater in his *History of Ohio*. Atwater not only condemned the "sweeping resolution" as "violent and unconstitutional," and impugned the honesty of its supporters; he also described the considerable confusion it created, especially in the lower courts where there were often two sets of judges exercising the office. In branding such critics as Federalists, Tappan demonstrated that he thought that all those Democratic-Republicans who took the other side of this question were Federalists at heart. Though he co-operated with them later, it is interesting to note how many of the conservatives of 1810 had joined the Whig opposition by the late 1830s—including Caleb Atwater. Caleb Atwater, *A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil* (Cincinnati, 1838), 182-186.

82. John C. Wright (1783-1861) had learned printing in his native Connecticut and then moved to New York to edit the Troy *Gazette*, which involved him in financial and legal difficulties. He became a leading Steubenville lawyer, and after 1823 served with distinction in the U.S. Congress, where Davy Crockett thought him singularly ill-looking. Defeated as an Adams man in 1828, he later became a Judge of the Ohio Supreme Court and editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. With his intellectual acuteness and sense of humor, he was a suitable foil for Tappan, with whom he came increasingly to differ in politics.

drafts in the brigade composed of Jefferson & Harrison Counties & march them to Cleveland as soon as possible.[83] It was on Sunday morning about daylight that I rec'd the order. I gave notice of it in town & sent orders that day to all parts of the Brigade for the drafts to repair to Steubenville, with arms & equipments ready for marching. The men came in, but without arms, accoutrements or camp equipage. I engaged in providing for them. I collected all the arms which could be got & employed all the gunsmiths in repairing them. I purchased sheet iron & set all the tinners at work making camp kettles. I purchased powder & lead & cloth for tents & had tents made. I hired waggons & purchased provisions for forty days' consumption of the men. I gave my certificates to all who sold their property to me of what had been purchased & its prices. So dilligent were these preparations that, on the next Friday after receiving the order, I marched the men out of Steubenville armed & provided with everything necessary for service. Two companies of volunteers composed part of the force, one of infantry raised in Steubenville by Captn. Nich[ola]s Murray & the other of riflemen commanded by Capt. James Alexander. Three days' march brought us to Canton where we met the Columbiana militia under Genl. [Reasin] Beall waiting orders.[84] I left my command with Colo. Andrews and went to Cleveland where I met the Major General, who had about a thousand men with him. The M.G. sent orders for the militia who were at Canton to move on to Mansfield, while he prepared to march to Huron. As he found the enemy were not coming down the Lake, he determined to move his force towards Detroit as soon as possible.

The mode of supplying the troops at that time was by contracts made with the secretary of war & the contractor for the country north of the fortieth degree of north latitude was Augustus Porter, father of the senator from Michigan.[85] He had for partner & agent a man by the name of Tupper. The army with Genl. Wadsworth was not well supplied with provisions, nor was the force with Beall, except those I had brought on. The first care of the General was, therefore, to obtain a supply. For this, requisitions were made upon the contractor to supply

83. Not quite right: the letter survives, dated "Canfield, August 22, 1812," Tappan Papers, OHS. Tappan's response to the sudden threat of invasion through northwestern Ohio was typical of the urgent rush to arms by the militia in most parts of Ohio in the late summer of 1812.

84. Reasin Beall (1769-1843) had fought against the Ohio Indians in the early 1790s and moved in 1803 to New Lisbon where he had held various public offices. He later served as registrar of the land office at Wooster, 1813-1824.

85. Augustus Porter was one of the early surveyors of the Western Reserve.

rations at Cleveland, the Portage, Canton, Wooster, Mansfield & Huron at such times & in such quantities as was calculated to be necessary to supply the troops. The times given to comply with the requisition was agreed upon by the M.G. & Mr. Tupper, & we were assured by the latter that there should be no failure on his part.

As some days must elapse before the contractor was to deliver his provisions & no movement could be made untill that was done, I was ordered by the Genl. to exercise the men in the new system of tactics, as I was the only officer under his command who had any knowledge of it, all the rest adhering to Steuben. I went to work &, with the aid of diagrams of the eighteen manoevres which I had borrowed of the widow of an English officer, I was able to give the troops considerable readiness in the drill.[86] I must here observe that I knew nothing of this but what I had gathered from books. Colo. John Miller & myself had for several years studied the new system together & knew more than those who knew nothing, but I was far from being able to teach others very accurately.[87]

The General had ordered a deposit of provisions to be made at the Portage, as it was not thought safe to march to Huron or Sandusky on the Lake shore, for it would be in the power of the enemy to annoy, if not capture, the force if they should be on the look out, as was supposed. The intention was to fall back to the Portage & march from there west to Lower Sandusky [i.e., Fremont], while the militia with Beall marched to the same point thro' Mansfield.[88] I was ordered to

86. For 30 years military training in the United States had been based on the drill manuals of Baron von Steuben (1730-1794), the Prussian officer who trained Washington's Continental Army at Valley Forge. On the eve of the War of 1812 the regular army still used "the rules & discipline of Baron Steuben," while "the new officers advocated the introduction of French tactics" (Thomas Worthington to Samuel Huntington, December 31, 1811, "Letters from the Samuel Huntington Correspondence, 1800-1812," Western Reserve Historical Society *Tracts*, XCV [1915], 147-148). It is just possible, however, that Tappan is referring to the British system of light infantry tactics worked out to contain the mad rush of the massed French infantry, and introduced into the British Army by Sir John Moore (1761-1809) and used subsequently to good effect by the Duke of Wellington. For these maneuvers, see J. F. C. Fuller, *Sir John Moore's System of Training* (London, 1924).

87. John Miller, Tappan's friend and neighbor in Steubenville and an editor of the *Western Herald*, was to serve with distinction as a field officer in the Northwestern army during the war, leading "the brilliant sortie" during the siege of Fort Meigs in 1813. He later emigrated to Missouri, where he was elected Governor and served in Congress, 1837-1843, as a Democrat. In Washington he shared lodgings with Tappan. *Democratic Review*, VII, 555.

88. Fear of a flank attack on any American troops marching along the Lake Shore arose from Britain's undoubted, if short-lived, naval control of Lake Erie. Cf. Conlin, *Simon Perkins*, 82.

take a few men & go to the Portage [in the present Summit County] & select a good site for the troops to encamp, &, after marking out the ground, to go to Jefferson County & collect & march out the second draft amounting to over 300 men. In obedience of this order, I went to the Portage & chose a place for a camp on the west side of the Cuyahoga. I was here taken sick, but I hastened to Steubenville & ordered out the militia. I had sent to Pittsburg for arms & camp equipage so that the men were well supplied, but, when I got them ready to march, I was not able to go with them but was obliged to take to my bed to which I was confined three weeks.

While I lay sick the M.G. sent three expresses, one after the other, to hasten my return to camp, for as I had written all his orders & was mainly depended on in the business of his office, the M.G. found it difficult to get along without me. I was also very anxious to get to the camp &, as soon as I was able to sit on horseback, I was helped on to my horse & started, notwithstanding the remonstrances of my physician who prophesyed that I should not live to get to Canton. I rode sixteen miles without stopping to [East] Springfield [Jefferson County]. I was so weak when I dismounted that I could not stand, but, being in very good quarters, I recruited [my strength] so as to proceed on my journey the next day with increased strength. By the time I reached Camp Avery on the Huron river where the whole force of the M.G. was concentrated, I was well.

I found the camp somewhat disturbed by a court martial which had been ordered by the M.G. & was then sitting upon Genl. Beall for disobedience of orders. I was ordered to conduct the tryal as judge advocate. Beall was acquitted of the charge exhibited against him, tho' he would have been broke had such charges been made against him as the facts of the case would have warranted.[89]

Two days before I arived at Camp Avery, General Harrison who

89. Tappan was originally recalled in order to take part in Reasin Beall's trial as a witness and counsellor. Beall had failed to follow his orders to co-operate with General Simon Perkins in building blockhouses along the road from Mansfield to Huron and to march his troops forward to reinforce Perkins in his more exposed position. After the court's generous verdict, Beall resigned. In April 1813 he ran against Perkins in a Congressional election in which Perkins refrained from revealing Beall's record even though Perkins' own record was under attack. Beall's political career led him a decade later to join the Jacksonian Democrats, but in the late 1830s he deserted to join the Whigs. Tappan's revelation of Beall's war record may therefore be politically motivated, as his following comment on William Henry Harrison undoubtedly is. Elijah Wadsworth to Tappan, October 30, 1812, Tappan Papers, OHS; Conlin, *Simon Perkins*, 81-85, 91-93.

commanded the N.W. army had left there for Delaware.[90] I was told that he had formed an hollow square of the troops, about 1500 men, and made a speech to them in which he had promised them that they should eat their Christmas dinner in Malden [the strategic British fort guarding Canada from invasion across the Detroit River]. A few days afterwards an express arrived from General Harrison with a letter to the M.G. which stated that there was a large quantity, supposed to be 1500 or 2000 bushels, of corn standing in the field at Maumee, and that it was extremely desireable that it should be saved for the use of our army, & there was reason to fear, if immediate measures were not taken to save it, that the British & Indians would appropriate the whole to their own use. The letter concluded with a request to the M.G. to detach 500 men immediately to gather and rescue the corn.

The M.G. immediately called the general & field officers together & laid General Harrison's letter before us. They all advised the M.G. to send the detachment forthwith. After the superior officers had given their opinions, the M.G. called on me for my opinion. I observed that, as Genl. Harrison had recently visited Camp Avery, it was to be presumed that he was well acquainted with the material in possession of that wing of the army, that I presumed while here he had called for & taken with him full returns of our arms, amunition, camp equipage & provisions. The M.G. observed that such returns were made out for Genl. H. as it was expected he would call for them, but he said nothing about such matters & the returns were not offered to him. He went away from the right wing of the army with as little knowledge of its military means as he had before he came there. I expressed some surprise at this & produced the returns & laid them before the council. They proved that we had not the means of issuing one day's rations to the troops in camp; we had a plenty of fresh beef, but no flour, a few potatoes, no whiskey, & nothing of the smaller parts of the ration. I stated to the council that it was five days' march for well-provided troops to Maumee & that we could not march 500 men there & give them time to secure the corn without at least fifteen days' provisions, & that, as we had not one day's provisions for 500 men, it was out of the question attempting to comply with Genl. H.'s order. Such was the

90. William Henry Harrison (1773-1841), a Virginian who fought against the Ohio Indians, settled near Cincinnati, served in the Territorial government, and governed the Indiana Territory, 1800-1812. After commanding the Northwestern army during the war, he served in Congress and as Minister to Colombia, and ultimately ran successfully as Whig candidate for President in 1840.

William Henry Harrison (1773-1841). SOCIETY COLLECTION

unanimous opinion of the council & an express was sent to Genl. H. informing him of what, if he had paid any attention to his duty, he would have known before, the inability of the M.G. to execute the order. In truth, the right wing of the army was strong enough to have taken Malden if they had had provisions, but the contractor wholly neglected all the requisitions for the different depots & it was with the utmost exertion that that part of the army was kept from disbanding.[91]

In Dec. the M.G. gave up command of that wing of the army to General Perkins & [as a matter] of course I returned home with him. [Wadsworth resigned, on November 29, partly because the Beall decision undermined his authority, and partly because he had indebted himself considerably in equipping the militia. Perkins led his command in Harrison's counter-offensive of January 1813, which ended in debacle and disappointment; disgusted with the government's handling of

91. Tappan expressed this view at the time in a letter to U.S. Senator Thomas Worthington, November 28, 1812, Tappan Papers OHS. It would seem fairer to say that Harrison should have recognized the difficulties of supply, the lateness of the season and the rawness of his troops, and so avoided overly optimistic promises that he could retrieve the situation on the Detroit frontier by Christmas, 1812. Dorothy B. Goebel, *William Henry Harrison* (Indianapolis, 1926), 144-154.

the war, Perkins resigned in February.[92] Tappan shared this disillusionment and expressed his views forcefully in a letter to Congressman Jeremiah Morrow which appears ultimately to have reached the Secretary of War. Fundamental weaknesses, Tappan said, existed in the army's supply system; because the commissariat was not under martial law, the various suppliers could with impunity default on any contract which appeared likely to make a loss; and so the army found itself paralysed at critical moments. Until changes were made, he was unwilling to enlist again, even at the head of a regiment.[93] Thus Tappan stood aside through the rest of the war, even when Ohio was invaded once more by the British and Indians in July 1813. Instead he entered into dispute with the general government over requisitions and the payment of the expenses he had incurred on his own account, most of which were finally settled in 1816.]

Judge Tappan, 1816-1823

Nothing occurred out of the usual course with me untill the spring of 1815 [1816], when I heard early in March that the assembly had elected me President of the common Pleas in the fifth circuit, which was soon confirmed by receiving a commission. I was engaged in a very lucrative practice at this time & did not want the office. I had been elected without my knowing that I was thought of as a candidate.[94] Under these circumstances I hessitated much as to accepting the office & it was some weeks before I concluded to accept it. I served in this office seven years & I can truly affirm that I never gave an opinion in a cause unless I believed that I had no partiallity for any of the parties. [This protestation probably derives from the impeachment proceedings commenced against Tappan in the General Assembly of 1817-1818, when the various charges of improper judicial behavior had been dismissed by the House.][95]

When my time was near expiring, I was at Columbus attending to my

92. Conlin, *Simon Perkins*, 85-90.

93. Tappan to Morrow, January 13, 1813, The Papers of James Monroe, New York Public Library. Jeremiah Morrow (1771-1852) came from Pennsylvania in 1795 and soon became the leading man of Warren County. He served in the territorial legislature and constitutional convention, and was Ohio's sole congressman, 1803-1813. In 1813 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, and was Governor of Ohio, 1822-1826.

94. Tappan's memory fails him here, for he not only mistakes the year, he also forgets that he had been informed previously that the number of judicial circuits was going to be increased and that he had been asked if he would accept a judgeship. Robert Patterson to Tappan, January 10, 1816, Tappan Papers, LC.

95. See the letters of September 1817—January 1818, *ibid.*

duty as canal commissioner, to which office I had been appointed in January 1821 [1822]. [Jeremiah H.] Hallock was a representative from Jefferson County & wanted to be President of the common Pleas. So to give him a chance & prevent my being a candidate, a few days before the election was to come on he started the notion of running me for a judge of the Supreme Court against Pease. I was opposed to this, for I did not think Hallock & his friends could be depended upon & it would fail. But Hallock got up a meeting of my friends the evening before the election in which he and his Presbyterian friends pledged themselves to vote for me for judge of the supreme court &, as they with my friends for that office numbered 60, which was more than a majority of the whole, my friends believed that my election to the supreme court was safe. They told me of this agreement & that they had agreed to make Hallock President. I told them that they were deceived, that I could not get but 36 votes out of 108 against Pease, for that neither Hallock or his friends would vote for me. Those I talked with were hurt at my want of confidence in their allies, but I told them to go on their own way, that I had no reluctance at returning to the bar. It turned out as I had expected. I had 36 votes on the first ballot & Pease was elected on the second, & Hallock was elected President without opposition.[96]

When I was appointed judge, J.C. Wright was the prosecuting Attorney. In 1816 he told me that he should resign at the next court. But, to go back, when I concluded to accept the office of Pres of the C.P., I considered into whose hands I should put my business. Hallock then resided at Canton & I proposed to him to remove to Steubenville & take my office & finish the business I was engaged in, he to have all the fees which had not been paid in advance, which was four fifths of the whole, & to have the use of my library gratuitiously. Hallock very

96. Tappan was more disconcerted by his defeat than he allows, for he immediately tried to secure an appointment as United States District Attorney, but in vain. There were, indeed, good reasons why he failed to secure federal office, promotion to the Ohio Supreme Court, and even re-election. He had been in bitter controversy with his Steubenville neighbor (and another brother-in-law), John M. Goodenow, and had been found guilty of slandering Goodenow. When the local paper published this news, Tappan fell out with its editor, his former protégé, James Wilson; and then suspected that Wilson "declined an election to the legislature, & that Mr. H was pushed in, for the purpose of ousting him" as judge. Tappan was, in fact, losing popularity and his reputation was in decline, though no less an authority than Charles Hammond still thought him one of the three most capable lawyers in Ohio. James Wilson to E. A. Brown, December 7, 1822, Tappan to E. A. Brown, January 29, 1823, The Papers of Ethan Allen Brown, OHS. Hammond to J. C. Wright, December 15, 1822, January 19, 1823, The Papers of Charles Hammond, OHS. Lewis Tappan to Tappan, January 29, February 4, 20, 1823, Tappan Papers, LC.

gladly accepted my offer &, when the office of prosecutor was resigned by Mr. Wright, I had Hallock appointed in his place.[97]

When I first went on to the bench, I took minutes of my decisions & kept them so that I need not, in the hurry of business, decide matters of practice different ways. These minutes were sometimes tollerable full reports of the cases & after a while the bar desired that I should publish them. A subscription was opened &, enough subscribers appearing to nearly pay the expense, I published "Tappans reports" which was well received by the profession generally.[98]

In the law which authorised an examination as to the practicabillity of connecting the Lake with the Ohio by a navigable canal, I was the first named Commissioner with [Jeremiah] Morrow, [Ebenezer] Buckingham [, Jr.], [Thomas] Worthington, [Ethan Allan] Brown, [Alfred] Kelly & [Isaac] Miner.[99] At the first meeting of the commissioners in May 1821 [1822], Worthington, as soon as we met, moved that we should proceed to elect a chairman. I seconded the motion. We balloted & he had three votes (his own, Buckingham & Morrow), I had two (Kelly & Miner), and I voted for Miner. Brown was absent. Upon this Buckingham declared Worthington elected & he took the chair, but after holding it a year he was compelled to resign & I was chosen to

97. His role in the appointment of Hallock as prosecutor was the basis of the most substantial charge brought against Tappan in the impeachment proceedings of 1817-1818. No doubt this made Hallock's subsequent lack of gratitude doubly annoying, and the personal and political enmity between the two men culminated when Tappan himself brought complaints against Judge Hallock before the legislature of 1830. Hallock, however, continued as judge until 1836, preserving a high reputation for uprightness—and for having fewer decisions reversed in the higher courts than any contemporary.

98. This volume, entitled *Reports of Cases Decided In The Courts of Common Pleas of the Fifth Circuit of Ohio*, provided the first record of decisions in Ohio courts. Cases in the state Supreme Court were not reported before 1823, the year when sessions *en banc* were inaugurated. Even brother Lewis approved Benjamin's decisions, except for his ruling that fornication between a married man and an unmarried woman is no adultery, since adultery occurs only if the woman is married. Lewis Tappan to Tappan, October 30, 1818, Tappan Papers, LC.

99. Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., was a wealthy merchant and salt manufacturer from Putnam, near Zanesville. Thomas Worthington (1769-1827), a Virginian known as "the father of Ohio statehood," had already served in the constitutional convention, as U.S. Senator (1803-1807 and 1810-1814) and Governor of Ohio (1814-1818), and now represented Ross County in the General Assembly. Alfred Kelley (1789-1859), a New Englander who settled in Cleveland in 1810, was an active lawyer and politician who had served in the legislature since 1814. He was to be one of the two "acting commissioners" who actually directed the building of the main canals. Transferring after 1836 to the canal fund, he was responsible for saving the state's finances and, as a leading Whig politician from Columbus, initiated important financial legislation in the mid-1840s. Isaac Minor was a lawyer and politician from Madison County. For Morrow and Brown, see notes 93 and 78.

succeed him, for it was found that he could not draw up a report to the assembly which any of us were willing to sign.

After the first meeting of the Canal Commissioners, I went with my wife to Hartford to have a cancer removed with which she was affected. It was done at Doctr. Todd's by Doctr. Cogswell with some hope of success & it appeared to do well for some months, but after our return home the disease appeared again & in the summer of 1822 ended her life. She was a woman of very uncommon mind & of a form the most perfect.[100]

Shortly after her decease I went with Judge Geddes[101] on an exploring tour by the heads of Black river, Chippewa lake, the Portage & Congress pond, and from there thro' Randolph & Ravenna to the Cuyahoga in Mantua. Our object was to ascertain the difference of level between the Black river summit & the others east of it, & to determine whether a canal could be made by the way of the Cuyahoga & little Beaver between Lake Erie & the Ohio river. We found that it was unpracticable to bring the canal into the Ohio river above the mouth of Muskingum. [On the other hand, they had discovered that it was feasible to build a canal over the height of land between the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas valleys, and this was ultimately the route that was selected for the main canal.] From this time untill the board of Canal Commissioners were superceded by the board of public works,[102] I spent part of every winter at Columbus. In June 1823 I married again, Mrs. Frazer of Columbus.[103]

[Here the manuscript breaks off abruptly—but appropriately. For the taking of a new wife symbolized a shift in the character of Tappan's career. By 1823 he was devoted to the cause of economic improvement, and especially to the great canal project that was to alter the character of his Ohio, removing it ever further from the wilderness and frontier conditions he had confronted for a quarter of a century. In 1824 he sided with the Jacksonians in the contest for the Presidency, and

100. His correspondence shows his wife's long illness to have been an agonizing experience for Tappan, and after her death he was described as "heartsmitten." Lewis Tappan to Tappan, September 13, 1822, Tappan Papers, LC.

101. James Geddes, a senior engineer on the staff of New York's Erie Canal, was engaged by Ohio in 1822 to give professional aid in surveying possible canal routes. Tappan's survey notes and maps survive, OHS.

102. On the completion of the main canal projects in 1833, Tappan favored the replacement of the Canal Commissioners by a more broadly based Board of Public Works, but the reorganization was not in fact carried out until 1836.

103. Sadly, his second wife was to die in 1840 shortly after this draft was written.

thereafter increasingly threw himself into a party conflict which he saw in terms of the ideological struggles of his younger years. Yet by the mid-1830s it appeared as though this phase too was completed. The main canals were built; he had failed to secure federal office; and repeated ill-health seemed to doom him to retirement and armchair concentration on his geological interests. But, in fact, great things lay ahead, even at the age of sixty-five. In the end he achieved a political position of such eminence that a national magazine invited him to prepare an autobiographical sketch for the edification of its readers—and, as it happened, of posterity. For, to borrow a phrase from his admiring brother-in-law, later generations could see in Tappan's many-sided career "an evidence of the enlarged genius and various capacity of the American Character," as called forth by the social and cultural conditions of the Early Republic.][104]

104. William Edwards to Tappan, December 26, 1833, Tappan Papers, LC.

Notes and Queries

The Western Reserve Historical Society is sponsoring a Bicentennial Conference of American Genealogy and Family History, August 8-12, 1976. The conference will center on the people and records of the American Revolution, migrations to and within the United States following the Revolution, the preparation and printing or publishing of genealogical material, and the nature and use of some major genealogical collections and family history studies in American universities. For further information you are asked to contact Mr. John Larger, Jr., The Western Reserve Historical Society, 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106.

The Society for Industrial Archeology announces publication of a new semi-annual journal, *IA*. *IA* will feature scholarly papers on a wide range of subjects dealing with our industrial and engineering past. Special emphasis will be given to structures and sites in North America. In addition to full-length papers, *IA* will also contain Omnibus and Book Review sections, together with discussion of previously published papers. The journal will be profusely illustrated and published in a large (8½ x 11 inches) format. The editor is Prof. Emory L. Kemp, Department of Civil Engineering, West Virginia University. *IA* is included with membership in the Society for Industrial Archeology.

A comprehensive edition of the letters of Charles Darwin is being planned with the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies and with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation. The edition will be arranged in chronological order with full texts and annotations, and will include letters to Darwin as well as those from him. Frederick Burkhardt, President Emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies, and Sydney Smith, Fellow and Tutor of St. Catharine's College and University Lecturer in Zoology, University of Cambridge, are Co-Editors of the Collected Letters.

It is hoped that librarians, collectors, scholars, antiquarian book-sellers, and others with knowledge of Darwiniana will contact Dr. Burkhardt at R.F.D. 1, Bennington, Vermont 05201.

The third annual Carl Becker Memorial Lecture, sponsored by the Department of History at the University of Northern Iowa, is scheduled to be held on September 29, 1976. Jack Greene will deliver the lecture which is entitled "The American Revolution: An Explanation." For further information write Alvin R. Sunseri, Department of History, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA 50613.

Thurberists will be interested in learning that *Men, Women and Dogs* has been reprinted with a new introduction by Dodd, Mead and Company ($8.95). Originally published in 1943, the work contains over two hundred pages of James Thurber's best-loved cartoons and drawings, including such series as "The Masculine Approach" and "The War Between Men and Women."

Recent promotions, appointments, leaves of absences, or retirements within the professional community of Ohio historians include the following. University of Akron: H. Roger Grant promoted associate professor; Antioch College: Frank Wong became dean of the faculty, Christopher Lutz appointed visiting professor of history, 1975-1976, Hannah Goldberg became head of humanities area, 1975-1976; Bowling Green State University: Grover Platt and Virginia Platt have retired, Dennis Kelly granted one-year leave, Crandall Shifflett appointed assistant professor; Case Western Reserve University: former visiting assistant professor John R. Wunder appointed assistant professor, Michael Altschul will be on leave spring semester; University of Cincinnati: Beverly Smith and Martha Gold appointed to one-year positions; Cleveland State University: Thomas F. Campbell promoted to professor of history; Kent State University: Sherman B. Barnes recently retired and promoted to Professor Emeritus of History, Harris Dante reappointed member of the ad hoc committee on History in Ohio Secondary Schools, Organization of American Historians; Kenyon College: Alice Herman appointed assistant professor; Michael J. Owens Technical College: Diane VanSkiver Gagel appointed instructor; Ohio Northern University: Oscar G. Darlington retired, David S. Sefton appointed new department member; Rio Grande College: Ivan Tribe appointed part-time instructor; Wittenberg University: Peter Celms appointed chairman of the history department, Richard T. Ortquist promoted associate dean, Charles Chatfield promoted director of international education, Joseph E. O'Connor appointed administrator of the faculty development program; Xavier University: Father John Witek, S.J. left the department to join the faculty of Georgetown University.

Some of the recent scholarly publications by Ohio historians include the following: Daniel Nelson, *Managers and Workers: Origins of the New Factory System in the United States, 1880-1920* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1975); H. Roger Grant with L. Edward Purcell, *Years of Struggle: The Farm Diary of Elmer G. Powers, 1931-1936* (Iowa State University Press, 1975); Irvine H. Anderson, *The Standard-Vacuum Oil Company and United States East Asian Policy, 1933-1941* (Princeton University Press, 1975); William I. Shorrock, "France and the Rise of Fascism in Italy, 1919-1923," *Journal of Contemporary History,* October 1975; Reed St. Clair Browning, *The Duke of Newcastle* (Yale University Press, 1975); Robert R. Davis, Jr., *Lexicon of Afro-American History* (Simon and Schuster, 1975); Donald Cooper, "Brazil's Long Fight Against Epidemic Disease, 1849-1917, With Special Emphasis on Yellow Fever," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine,* May 1975; Alfred Eckes, *A Search for Solvency: Bretton Woods and the International Monetary System, 1941-1971* (University of Texas Press, 1975); June Fullmer, "Davy's Priority in the Iodine Dispute," *Ambix* 22 (1975); Richard Hopkins, "Mobility and the New Urban History," *Journal of Urban History,*I(1975); Allan Millett, *The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the U.S. Army, 1881-1925 (Greenwood Press, 1975);* Marvin R. Zahniser, *Uncertain Friendship: American-French Diplomatic Relations Through the Cold War* (Wiley, 1975); Morris Rossabi, *China and Inner Asia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975); James Friguglietti, *Albert Mathiez, Historien Revolutionnaire (1874-1932)* (Paris: Société des Etudes Robespierristes, 1975).

Book Reviews

Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution. Compiled by John R. Sellers, Gerard W. Gawalt, Paul H. Smith, and Patricia Molen van Ee. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1975. iii + 372 p.; indexes. $8.70.)

The Library of Congress is many things to many people: a legislative library; a leader in the introduction of new library techniques; the world's largest depository of written materials; and the custodian of internationally significant collections in a number of fields. Over many decades, the Library has also made a valuable contribution to American and world scholarship through the compilation of a series of bibliographies, catalogues, guides, and other reference works. Some years ago, the Library established an American Revolution Bicentennial Office that has sponsored several symposia on the Revolution and conducted a survey of the Library's manuscript sources for description in this guide.

Under 1617 entries, the guide lists all of the Library's collections of original manuscripts, photostats, microfilms, and transcripts on American history from 1763 to 1789. Two-thirds of the entries cover "Domestic Collections," which include papers of public men, government records, diaries, account books, and orderly books. The other entries list "Foreign Reproductions," material on American history during the period, which was copied for the Library of Congress from foreign archives in England, France, Spain, and other countries. Each entry lists the name of the collection, its size and dates, the location of originals in cases where the Library of Congress holds reproductions, and reference to other guides to the individual collections. Most entries also include a short biographical identification of the person or family whose papers are listed, a note on principal correspondents in the collection, and a description of the collection, which may range from a single line to half a page.

Students of black history, architecture, religion, and other aspects of American life will find some materials pertinent to their work listed here. There are papers of Paul Cuffee and Pierre L'Enfant, of the Pennsylvania Abolitionist Society and the Society of the Cincinnati, of blacksmiths, clergymen, planters, and country storekeepers. The overwhelming emphasis, however, is in the fields of political, military, and diplomatic history, and on the papers of prominent American white males. This fact is explainable more by the interests of earlier scholarly generations than by the myopia of the guide's compilers. For the study of these subjects, the original manuscripts in the Library of Congress are indispensable, and its reproductions of material in other libraries in this country and abroad makes a massive group of manuscripts conveniently available in one place. One is compelled to use these great collections whether one is interested in the events that led to revolution, the military engagements, the history of diplomacy and government during the Confederation, or the men who wrote the Constitution of 1787. Here are the diaries and journals of revolutionary soldiers and British officers, the family papers of American loyalists and the Proceedings of the Loyalist Claims Commissioners, official records of a number of states and of most major European powers. The repro-

ductions of British materials include manuscripts in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Lambeth Palace Library, and the several ministries that dealt with colonial affairs and prosecution of the war.

A short sampling of some of the private papers listed gives some sense of the importance of this volume: the Adams family (608 reels of microfilm), Franklin, George Clinton, Galloway, Gates, Nathanael Greene, Hamilton (111 vols. and 3 boxes), Hancock, Jared Ingersoll, Lafayette, Jefferson (50,000 items), Henry Laurens, Monroe, Madison (108 vols. and 8 boxes), Gouverneur Morris, Robert Morris, Rochambeau, Caesar Rodney, Mercy Otis Warren, Washington, the Lee family, and the Livingston family. The originals or reproductions of some of these materials are available in other libraries; others are unique to the Library of Congress, which has filmed many of its manuscript collections for purchase or loan to scholars around the country.

The guide lists a number of collections containing materials on the Ohio country. Some of these are miscellaneous collections on the western region—e.g., the Northwest Territory Collection and the thirty volumes of Kentucky Manuscripts. The Library also holds the papers of a number of men directly involved in land speculation or settlement of the Ohio Valley or who played other roles in early Ohio history. Among these are the papers of Thomas J. Clay, William Croghan, John Fitch, Simon Kenton, Duncan McArthur, John Cleves Symmes, John D. Woelpper, and the Nathaniel Wright family.

The Ohio Academy of History is sponsoring the preparation of a guide to sources on the American Revolution—printed, as well as original and photographic reproductions—that are in Ohio libraries. Though Ohio libraries have few original manuscripts on the period, they are rich in printed and filmed editions, and the Academy guide will assist the student of the Revolution in identifying the closest library that holds material he requires. It will not, however, supplant this distinguished guide to *Manuscript Sources* in the Library of Congress, a fitting contribution to the American bicentennial commemoration from the nation's library.

Cleveland State University John Cary

Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America: 1775-1783. By R. Arthur Bowler. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. xii + 290p.; notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

This monograph is a penetrating and well-researched administrative history. Along with two other volumes, Norman Baker's *Government and Contractors: The British Treasury and War Supplies, 1774-1783,* and David Syretts' *Shipping and the American War, 1775-1783,* Bowler's book marks an attempt to rewrite the administrative history of the War for Independence.

The central question that Bowler focused on is the same one that has fascinated historians for years—why did presumably invincible Britain lose the war to a group of quarrelling colonies? The answers have tended to fall into three categories: 1) the intense commitment and ability of the colonists, 2) foreign intervention and 3) administrative and strategic errors on the part of the British. Bowler's volume clearly falls into the third category.

Those authors who have sought to explain the failure of the British army in America usually cite the administrative errors of both the leadership in England and the Commanders-in-chief in America. Bowler does not wish to question these interpretations, but rather to expand and deepen our understanding of the British loss. He seeks to demonstrate in this book "that the fighting efficiency of an army is very often a function of its logistical efficiency and to point out where logistical and administrative problems in America affected the course of the war."

The British logistical organization had not yet developed into the logical and efficient structure twentieth century warfare introduced. Several governmental departments—the War Office, the Treasury, the Board of Ordinance and the Navy Board—coordinated the war efforts for Britain. In America, four extensive departments were responsible for logistics—quartermaster, commissary, barrack master and engineer. The major portion of Bowler's book focuses on the activities of these agencies and departments. The story is one of repeated failure.

The problem of securing sufficient food was perhaps the most persistent logistical dilemma. Shortly after the beginning of the war, the British discovered that they would not be able to rely on the American countryside to feed the soldiers and citizens living in New York. A complex system of importing food from England had to be established, but until after 1781, when it really did not matter militarily, there was never a sufficient quantity of food, and much that did arrive was inedible. Without sufficient provision reserves the British commanders were hesitant to embark on expeditions into the American interior. They recognized that unfriendly civilians were not apt to make food available to hungry British soldiers. Thus, according to Bowler, the generals were forced to remain in the captured American cities rather than venture into the interior. The failure of Generals Thomas Gage, William Howe and Henry Clinton to be more aggressive was based, at least in part, on the inability of the British to logistically support an army in the field for more than a short period.

Bowler has done extensive research into British records, especially Treasury documents, and his thesis is convincing. He has confined his discussions to a very limited topic, but the questions he raises about war-time activities need to be examined further. In the past Revolutionary historiography has been concerned primarily with military, political and ideological themes. Bowler's volume reminds us that while these factors are important, we need to consider more thoroughly the everyday administrative and logistical problems of the British if we are to have a clear picture of why they lost the colonies.

Ohio American Revolution
Bicentennial Advisory Commission

David C. Twining

Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest. By John Logan Allen. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. xxvi + 412p.; illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $18.50.)

The University of Illinois Press has long had a reputation for producing outstanding books detailing the explorations of Lewis and Clark. In 1962 the Press issued the definitive *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, edited by

Donald Jackson. Seven years later the Press offered Paul Russell Cutright's massive *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists*. With the publication of John Logan Allen's superb *Passage through the Garden*, the University of Illinois Press has maintained its well-deserved reputation among Lewis and Clark scholars.

Passage through the Garden is no mere retelling of familiar events. Rather, Professor Allen has chosen to explore the geographical concepts which shaped the expedition and the ways those concepts changed during the journey. Using the interpretative framework developed by Henry Nash Smith and Leo Marx, Allen offers a perceptive analysis of the two central images that dominated the thinking of Lewis and Clark as well as their patron Thomas Jefferson. Those twin ideas were that the Northwest was an agricultural garden, and, more important, that a water route—a Passage to India—existed linking the Missouri to the Columbia and on to the Pacific. Carefully tracing those ideas from Spanish, French, and English sources, Allen correctly points to the way Jefferson's agrarian republican hopes for America made geography into wish-fullfillment.

Perhaps the most challenging chapter in Professor Allen's study comes early in the book and is entitled "Image of the Northwest, 1803." While Allen has frankly described this chapter as "highly speculative," his speculation proves both fertile and firmly rooted in historical evidence. Noting the close working relationship between Jefferson and Meriwether Lewis, Allen details the sources of their geographical ideas. Using what geography they knew and what they hoped was true, the President and the Explorer envisioned the Northwest as a garden penetrated by an easy water route to the Pacific. "Thus," writes Professor Allen, "was the image of the Northwest in 1803 a combination of fact and rumor, of theory and conjecture, with a sprinkling of hope added for seasoning."

When the explorers left St. Louis on May 14, 1804 to begin their trek to the Pacific, they were firmly held in the grasp of geographical images and expectations centuries old. As Allen explains so precisely, the real accomplishment of the expedition in the months to come was to "change the nature of the American knowledge of the Northwest. The captains would replace conjecture and speculation, wild reasonings of theoretical and logical frameworks, with scientific observation. They would fill many blank spaces on the maps of the Northwest with facts recorded and verified rather than guessed at and hoped for." Lewis and Clark found neither the Passage to India nor the Garden in the West. Refusing to cling to outmoded expectations, they confronted reality and thereby transformed the mental geography of North America.

Passage through the Garden is an impressive book, painstakingly researched and lucidly written. Graced with forty-seven useful maps and illustrations, John Logan Allen's work will be of lasting value to anyone intent on pursuing Anglo-Americans and their changing image of the land they inhabit. This monograph is a model of what can be achieved by wedding the history of exploration to the discipline of historical geography.

Youngstown State University James P. Ronda

Essays in Nineteenth Century Economic History: The Old Northwest. Edited by David C. Klingaman and Richard K. Vedder. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975. xiv + 356p.; illustrations, notes, index. $12.00.)

Those who have followed the recent efforts of economists to develop a regional economic history for the antebellum South will see in this volume a likely beginning for a similar evaluation of the Old Northwest. Once again economists, rather than historians, are at center stage, and the questions and methods are theirs. Of eleven essays, all but one focus on the antebellum period. The exception is a fascinating though exceedingly complex piece (67 endogenous variables and 72 equations) in which Jeffrey Williamson argues that declining inter-regional transport costs, by favoring the high-bulk, low-value agricultural products of the Midwest over the low-bulk, high-value industrial products of the East, fostered economic growth during the Gilded Age but also "*had a very powerful negative influence on American industrialization. . .*" *(p. 318).*

Over two-thirds of the essays deal with some facet of the general subject of economic growth. Robert Gallman and Richard Easterlin explore productivity in agriculture. Although both acknowledge the importance of the shift of production to geographical areas of higher yield, Easterlin concludes that an unfavorable price situation prevented newer states from translating productivity advantages into additions to income. It is also worth noting that Easterlin's emphasis on low productivity levels in areas undergoing settlement is an idea dating at least to Percy Wells Bidwell's and John I. Falconer's *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States* (Washington, D.C., 1925). The theme of economic growth is also central to Donald Adams' judicious essay on the role of the banks in maintaining a money supply conducive to economic growth and as financial intermediaries. In each case their contribution was less than optimum. Income grew considerably faster than bank money, and banks often neglected demands for long-term capital. Adams also remains skeptical of even the *theoretical* necessity for banks as financial intermediaries. Edward Rastatter makes a case for the neutral role of another kind of intermediary, the land speculator. Readers familiar with Robert P. Swierenga's *Pioneers and Profits* (Ames, Iowa, 1968) will recognize this thesis as essentially the new orthodoxy, but the burden of Rastatter's proof is fresh: population "varied positively and significantly with land values" (p. 133). Land, moreover, was settled and producing within two years of its sale at public auction and, therefore, the land speculator could not have "significantly retarded or distorted the settlement of the public lands" (p. 135). Rastatter is on unfirm ground only in his dismissal of the possibilities of monopolization. This conclusion is based on the assumption that land markets were in some significant sense national or regional, when for large numbers of settlers they were local—often, in fact, limited to a specific auction. In such circumstances market power could and did exist. The role of institutional factors in the process of growth and expansion is also the subject of a confused essay by Roger Ransom on canals. Contrary to Ransom's own *conclusions* about the positive contributions of the canal system, the *data* presented here indicate that of the Ohio and Indiana canals, only the Ohio Canal was of much benefit to the region, by any economic or social definition. The additional suggestion that canals promoted extensive economic growth, and that the transformation to industrialization

was dependent upon the railroad and the telegraph (the former because of its ability "to move people and goods rapidly" [p. 264]) is unproven in these pages and ignores evidence of pre-railroad industrialization.

Several essays explore the concept of the region's rapid maturity and its implications. From their perspective of population movements, Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway date Ohio's maturity to 1840, when the state became a net exporter of human resources. Don Leet's discussion of the relationship between fertility and settlement interprets maturity as an ongoing process, characterized by the development of stress. Stress is generated when an agricultural area ages and experiences a decline in available opportunities, and Leet believes it is this decline, rather than ongoing urbanization, which explains declining fertility. I only wish the author had gone further and presented a more elaborate explanation and historical framework for what is essentially a mathematical relationship. If the primary assumption is that children are conceived in order to provide farm labor, then surely the farm-labor market (the availability of hired hands) becomes a factor worthy of study. What Leet sees as declining opportunity might just as well be interpreted positively—as evidence of the existence in more settled areas of a highly structured, efficient farm-labor market, obviating the need for a child labor force.

The converse of declining opportunity at maturity—substantial opportunity at an earlier stage of development—is presented in an essay on Ohio wealth by Lee Soltow, which demonstrates the positive relationship between the average value of property in real estate and chronological age. Soltow concludes that these rewards to age were in substantial measure a function of the opportunity to acquire land in a frontier environment. One can agree with this, I think, without finding in it any evidence of *equal* opportunity or equal *distribution* of wealth. One crucial question, of course, is *which* younger people eventually acquire property? And it goes without saying that Ohio must also have been a superb place *not* to accumulate wealth. David Klingaman provides additional information on the distribution of wealth in a narrowly conceived and focused discussion based on northeastern Ohio sources. In the last analysis, however, Klingaman's data-oriented approach may prove of more value than William Parker's "From Northwest to Midwest: Social Bases of a Regional History." Parker's essay is myth-perpetuating (the newer societies of the west were democratic and homogenous), overly simple (Midwesterners are composites of various types, including Yankees, southern hill people, peasants and gamblers), and cryptic (on the causes of the Civil War). Much of the material is entertaining; almost all is highly speculative.

This collection has all the strengths and weaknesses of the new economic history. Most of the authors are concerned with questions of production and efficiency rather than distribution, and they see growth proceeding naturally and inexorably, rather than being fostered by intelligent entrepreneurship or hindered by the machinations of speculators. The critical unstated assumption is that growth is beneficial. It follows that policies which resulted in growth are also beneficial. The transfer of income from the poor to the rich through inflation is called "involuntary saving" and considered a necessary tool; leisure is treated as socially desirable, by definition, although clearly leisure, too, is often forced on one group by another (e.g. compulsory retirement policies). I am not sure that the pervasive emphasis on growth is not a misplaced remnant of the competition with the Soviets over GNP. The reader who has no such

doubts, or who can transcend them while he examines this volume, will be amply rewarded for his attention.

State University of New York
College at Fredonia
William Graebner

Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819. By Lester B. Scherer. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975. 163p.; notes, index. $5.95.)

Christians have good reason for embarrassment about the intimate and long-standing connection between their faith and so wretched a system of labor and racial control as African slavery. From St. Paul and Augustine of Hippo to Cotton Mather and Bishop Berkeley, as Scherer observes, theologians and prelates have managed to twist the Gospel of Jesus into justifications for human bondage. Why, one asks, did it take the church so long to reach libertarian conclusions that even a slaveholding Deist like Thomas Jefferson found self-evident? Professor Scherer notes the irony of that circumstance, but he does not speculate on so perplexing a subject; instead, he ably describes two centuries of churchly fumblings, apologies, misgivings, and half-conscious unease.

Too often church scholars (like most of us) speak to each other, and usually in parochial and pietistic terms, especially in regard to their denominations' gradual but allegedly benign evolution toward antislavery. Scherer, however, is largely free of technical jargon, aiming for lucidity, brevity, and a salutary objectivity. He is most persuasive when treating theological explanations for the enslavement of Africans and for the Christian necessity of masterly benevolence. Yet, like too many other liberal historians, he fails to grasp the full social context: a traditional Hobbesian society in which life for most people was "nasty, brutish, and short." For instance, he asserts that according to seventeenth-century English thought, "the social hierarchy did not slide gently downward to slavery; slavery was an abyss" (p.25). For the last decade, Lawrence Stone, J. H. Plumb, and Edmund Morgan have argued otherwise. Indentured servants, apprentices, redemptioners were also, though only temporarily, unfree menials without status or effective rights. Only as productivity and accompanying ideological changes advanced were Africans left frozen in the lower reaches of a worldly hell. Without taking account of the larger context of labor arrangements, Scherer leaves the impression that Christians were singularly ill-disposed toward blacks, whereas for most of the period he covered white property-holders and their clerical friends tenaciously clung to *all* means of retaining power against the potential rages of the dispossessed.

Scherer seems most persuasive when handling religious rather than social themes. For instance, he draws a very useful distinction (Troeltsch's famous dichotomy) between "church" and "sect." The former institution, as he suggests, reflected the traditional task of relating religious belief to worldly activity (including slaveholding), while the sect, in this case the American Quakers, strove for a higher standard, though at the expense of political influence. His recital of how Quakers moved toward antislavery is an excellent synthesis of that tangled story. He is most at home with Anglicans, New

England Puritans, and Virginia Presbyterians, but he neglects the Baptists who frequently included slaves as full church members, contrary to the practices of their ecclesiastical and social betters. Unfortunately, the author says almost nothing about black reactions to white evangelism; we are left wondering if Christianity arrived at the slave cabin door sometime after 1819—a very doubtful proposition.

The chief deficiency of the book lies in its paucity of original research. Even in a brief survey such as this there should be room for archival work, especially since the religious sources in both northern and southern repositories are so rich and still untouched. Yet, the final opinion must be favorable. Though the materials and the interpretations, both borrowed from recent secondary sources, are familiar to the specialist, Scherer's well-organized, uncomplicated narrative is an appealing volume suitable for a general audience or undergraduate class.

Case Western Reserve University Bertram Wyatt-Brown

The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization 1787-1863. By Floyd J. Miller. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. xiii + 295p.; notes, bibliography, index. $10.95.)

The concept of a "black nationality" has acquired more substance, if not more precision, over the last three decades as historians have traced through two centuries of complex permutations the impelling drive among blacks for self-realization, without demeaning dependence upon whites. Floyd Miller's book focuses on this subject with rigorous comprehension and comprehensive rigor during the nation's first 75 years.

His understanding of black-initiated colonization movements and their chief movers is impressive; from Paul Cuffe to Martin Delany and J. Theodore Holly, the men and their movements emerge in human dimension. Miller's scholarly probing is exemplary, exhuming a wide range of primary and secondary sources which he has explored with indefatigable care.

His treatment of emigration as a manifestation of black nationality is coherent. Paul Cuffe's abortive efforts in this country and in Sierra Leone, inhibited by apathy and war, reflect admirably upon this little-known man of extraordinary capacity. The American Colonization Society effort in Sierra Leone and the first Haitian settlement are tragedies of error, marred by misunderstanding, yet these early fumblings were essential growth experiences for blacks and whites. Emigration had a renaissance in the 1850's, attributed to the energetics of Lewis Woodson, whose disciple, Martin Delany, organized American and Canadian blacks and eventually contracted for land just east of Lagos in what is now Nigeria. Holly's interest was Haiti and although he prospered there, his settlement evaporated.

Several threads of black history are tied more tightly by this study. The dominance of whites, suffocating black aspirations, is a recurrent theme. The American Colonization Society, for example, spread like a blanket over emigrationist plans after 1816. Intraracial disputes, documented with debilitating frequency, demonstrate once again that the American black community consists of individuals who think and act independently to free the race of imposed

shackles. James Forten and Frederick Douglass, for example, could never quite accept emigration while Delany, Henry Highland Garnet and others became its most ardent disciples. Others moved between the poles of emigration and abolition, or even among the various poles of emigration itself (to Canada? to Haiti? to Africa?), manifesting that very human trait of flexibility or, less charitably, indecisiveness.

These important conclusions—white dominance, black squabbling, and black inconsistency—need such clarification if we are properly to understand both the evolving role of black people, as individuals and as a community, in American society, and the compelling thrust of black nationality.

Even as early as the first half of the nineteenth century black nationality had developed into three interdependent, yet independent ideologies. The first was the idea that being black in America carried a special, affirmative identification, a mark not so much of skin color but of tradition, perspective and communication. An amalgam of African background, slavery, the caste of prejudice, Christianity, and multiple random individual experiences, this belief is a forerunner of what we know today as black culture. In the earlier period, it was often expressed defensively: "We have always adopted the policies that white men established for themselves," Delany wrote in 1852, "without considering their applicability or adaptedness of us" (p. 132). The emigration movements were a positive expression of this idea.

Black nationality also came to mean a coming together of black people to fight for the same opportunities of citizenship, education, employment, residence and similar rights enjoyed by whites. The multiplicity of national and state conventions, particularly in the 1830's and 1850's, makes this clear, even though the conventions' specific objectives varied in time and place. Rarely would blacks gather without some outpouring of resentment against their oppressed state, some insistent demands for equal rights. Before H. H. Garnet turned to emigration, he was a militant abolitionist: "America is my home, my country, and I have no other," he proclaimed in 1848. "I love whatever of good there may be in her institutions. I hate her sins" (p. 188).

Black nationality, finally, included the idea of a black nation, within or without the boundaries of the United States. Most versions of this began with a black community, expanded into a thriving country with a sound economy and a strong government. Whatever the version, the projection was independence for black people. Delany's word was "self-reliance," but Holly, who later became a prominent Haitian, put the challenge more dramatically: "You are less than men if you would permit any amount of sufferings and privations to prevent your going forth to build a nationality of your race to do service in the cause of God and humanity" (p. 241).

Miller's book highlights the importance of an emerging black nationality for blacks and whites. It deserves a wide audience.

Heidelberg College Leslie H. Fishel, jr.

Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown. By Benjamin Quarles. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. xiv + 244p.; illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. $7.95).

More than a decade before his assault on Harpers Ferry, John Brown became almost single-mindedly preoccupied with the plight of Afro-Americans, free and slave. He sought their friendship as equals and without prejudice, and he died to eliminate their oppressions. Blacks, in turn, trusted and cooperated with Brown, and they canonized him after his death. Brown's relationship with blacks symbolized the potential for strong black-white cooperation and was founded upon the "liberal vision of the brotherhood of man."

This is the essential message of Benjamin Quarles' most recent book. It is sustained by prodigious research and gracious writing, and makes enjoyable reading. Yet *Allies for Freedom* suffers from certain deficiencies. The author never makes clear which general elements of the black community aided Brown before his hanging or which canonized him after his death. Quarles cites the words and deeds of national black leaders like Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, and Kelly Miller; but what were the social and economic backgrounds and the fundamental concerns of the many "anonymous" blacks who signed petitions, wrote private letters, and passed on an oral tradition exalting Brown? Nor can we ignore the many blacks who were indifferent toward Brown or even the minority who were hostile in the decades between Harpers Ferry and modern times. If Professor Quarles is to demonstrate that a Brown-black tradition of cooperation extended beyond a limited Negro leadership elite, more precise analysis of both the black masses and black leaders seemingly cool or hostile to Brown is imperative. Complexities, variations, and conflicts among Afro-Americans must be explained.

One may also question Quarles' claim that the relationship between Brown and blacks symbolized a viable tradition of black-white cooperation in pursuit of "man's common humanity." Quarles admits that Brown mistakenly assumed that most blacks were militant and ready for violent action against racial oppression. He also acknowledges that at least "a few" blacks hesitated "to join a movement led by any white. . . ." Finally, Quarles notes "that black abolitionists and their white counterparts were often in sharp disagreement as to priorities and role, with black reformers becoming more self-consciously black during the 1840's and 1850's." Given Brown's misreading of black willingness to commit violence, and given the sharp disagreements between white and black abolitionists that Quarles delineates so well in his *Black Abolitionists* (1969), the Brown-black relationship could not have been one of total trust and confidence. Brown shared with many other white abolitionists the vision that slavery retarded more than Negro liberty—that it held back the millennial "Kingdom of God." Black abolitionists usually had more precise and tangible goals. For most of them, the elimination of Southern racial bondage and the extension of civil rights for freemen were specific and self-contained ends.

To be sure, Brown may have had greater empathy and more immediate concern for blacks than most of his white abolitionist contemporaries. But there must have been very serious strains in the Brown-black relationship as well as strong harmonies. The relationship must have been complex and ambivalent. After Brown's death, canonizers could invent a mythic white hero who, in his relationship to blacks, evidenced none of this strain and ambivalence. It

would seem, then, that even a judicious and thorough historian like Professor Quarles shares something with Brown's canonizers. Like the canonizers, Quarles seems to allow the simple post-execution hero image to color his appraisal of the living John Brown.

Bowling Green State Univeristy Lawrence J. Friedman

The Mariposa Indian War, 1850-1851; Diaries of Robert Eccleston: The California Gold Rush, Yosemite, and the High Sierra. Edited by C. Gregory Crampton. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957. Reprinted 1975. vii + 168p.; illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

C. Gregory Crampton's *The Mariposa Indian War* reproduces for a wider reading audience a work previously known largely to specialists and to the Bancroft Library Friends. Crampton's efforts are directed to editing some of the diary materials recorded by Robert J. Eccleston during his sojourn in the Sierra country during 1850 and 1851.

Although the title indicates that the book will give us new information about the so-called Mariposa Indian War, such is really not the case. What Eccles records is an additional facet of the California mining frontier. Details of the daily toil involved in working for gold in the high mountain streams, of the costs involved, and of the rigors of mining camp life in general are the major legacy of the Eccleston materials held by the Bancroft Library.

There is little or no material about the Sierra Indians in this work. Ethnographic detail is provided in only one passage, and pencil sketches of natives and native dwellings are omitted from the reproduced materials.

The contribution of the book is to the literature of the mining frontier; nothing more should be claimed. Certainly the rigors of stream mining described here should help as we seek a better understanding of the true nature of mining camp life, apart from Bret Hart's *Outcasts of Poker Flats*. Worthy of note, too, are the amusements, such as horse racing, and the general instability of mining frontier life, which should help us understand the psychology of the frontier. For those interested in the history of mining, or even the early history of the Yosemite area, this will prove an interesting little book, but for those interested in native American studies, this will be of only tangential interest.

Marietta College James H. O'Donnell, III

Laura Clay and the Woman's Rights Movement. By Paul E. Fuller. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975. x + 217p.; illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

Laura Clay, one of the most prominent sectional suffrage leaders and progressive southerners, who died at ninety-two in 1941, left to historians one of the richest collections of papers and correspondence that exists on the women's rights movement. Paul Fuller is the first historian to give this material the significant attention it deserves. The author traces Laura Clay's life from her

childhood in the home of her famous father, the abolitionist Cassius Clay of Kentucky, through several chronological periods culminating with the women's suffrage amendment. In this excellent biography the author manages to enlist the reader's admiration for this extraordinarily energetic and devoted woman. Clay is depicted as a progressive southerner who could separate points of view from personality, and diplomatically received both triumph and defeat. She was involved in numerous women's rights activities that put her in touch with many women across America. For example, she worked for the passage of laws that provided equity in property rights between husband and wife, and a coguardianship law. Her efforts at coeducation in Kentucky are also noted. Most of all it was Clay's position on the national suffrage movement that gave her special notoriety. In her mind female suffrage should come through the states, and therefore she appreciated the national amendment in so far as it served to publicize the suffrage issue generally. Here Fuller makes his strongest point. Clay opposed the federal amendment because, in her words, it would "diminish the people's watchfulness over the legislation which affects their own particular requirements." The *New York Times*, among others, took this to mean that Clay's opposition was based on a typical southern prejudice against Negroes. While Clay did not deny that racial bias influenced the issue in the South, Fuller emphasizes that "her objections to the federal amendment were based on the principle of federal-state relations." The states, she believed, should be able to extend the vote at their own discretion to avoid the dangers of enfranchising untrained votes, especially "in this time of world revolution." Fuller's effective analysis of these points is supported by extensive documentation that goes beyond the Clay papers. Although compact almost to a fault in a couple of places, this overdue biography of Laura Clay is quite readable and deserves a place along with the works of Eileen Kraditor and Ann Frior Scott in understanding the Southern women's suffrage movement.

Muskingum College Joe L. Dubbert

An Ohio Reader. Volume I: *1750 to the Civil War.* Volume II: *Reconstruction to the Present.* Edited by Thomas H. Smith. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975. 324p. and 439p.; notes. Paper, $4.95 and $5.95.)

These two volumes contain selections from the entire chronological range of the history of Ohio, bringing conveniently together some fascinating materials printed previously in widely scattered places. Students and teachers of the state's history, as well as the general public, will find a wide choice of documents describing the land which became Ohio, some of the peoples who came to live there, and social and political problems which they encountered over the past two centuries. Of course no compilation of readings can include the personal favorites of every purchaser, but anyone interested in history who opens these volumes should find selections of interest.

Each volume is broken into chronological periods with appropriate topics developed for each section; each section, but not each document, has introductory comments by the editor. Thus the reader will find accounts of Indian wars,

tales of travel through the developing region, reports by government officers and journalists of social and economic conditions, and examples of how Ohioans disagreed on political issues in episodes such as the 1912 Constitutional Convention. The editor's choices reflect the history profession's concern with exploring Black experiences, and its awareness of differing opinions on the role of women in government and society.

The writing of state history poses difficult conceptual problems. As the editor points out in his introductory remarks, the boundaries are man-made. Should one then focus exclusively on the man-made entity, which would require a concentration on government history to the exclusion of broader social, economic, and intellectual developments which have shaped so much of the recent historiography of our national life? Or should the writer of state history simply adopt as his or her domain anything which happened in the state, or the activities of anyone who happened at some point to live within its boundaries? Just as the writing of state history often suffers from a lack of a clear definition of purpose, so do these volumes. Thus they inform us of how nineteenth century government struggled with the problems of establishing public education, without one word on the system of higher education; yet room is found to include excerpts from hardly unique contributions of Ohioans in Congress to the debates over "manifest destiny." The second volume contains vivid descriptions of the living conditions in which some Ohioans found themselves in the burgeoning urban-industrial society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with no mention of the role of the state government in promoting immigration or the shift in the source of migration to southern and eastern Europe. The editor reveals some confusion of purpose when, in the introduction to the second volume (which repeats the introduction to the first volume), he states "Ohio history can be seen as a microcosm of national history" (p. 9), and then begins his next section with "the reconstruction period. . .had a different meaning in Ohio than in the South" (p. 15). This reviewer wished for a clearer purpose than his assertion that we study state history because somehow it collectively adds up to national history.

The writing of state history is made difficult, furthermore, because it requires the historian to take into account changing interpretations developed in the national historiography. These volumes do so only to a limited extent in their samples of Black and women's history. One comes away from them unaware that, nationally, historians are conceptualizing their work around the increasing bureaucratization and centralization of power in society, unaware of recent insights into the class biases of some reformers, or the role of state government in promoting local business interests. Insights into the ways social, political, and intellectual life were shaped by successive waves of immigration must be found elsewhere. Research by political historians, who have systematically described patterns of grass-roots political behavior in the late nineteenth century and found Ohioans bitterly divided on matters of religious belief and ethnicity, is unrecognized here. In sum, the interpretive framework implicit in these volumes is of the liberal genre without recognition of contradictory interpretations developed in the profession in the past decade.

Undoubtedly these volumes will be useful in courses on Ohio history. *An Ohio Reader* is an interesting attempt to fill a void in the conveniently available literature of our state's history. It supplements and enriches existing secondary accounts. It will be the future task of scholars to sharpen our focus on the

purposes of state history, and perhaps to enlarge our understanding of the historical roles of state government.

The Ohio State University K. Austin Kerr

Ohio–An American Heartland. By Allen G. Noble and Albert J. Korsok. (Columbus: Ohio Division of Geological Survey, 1975, xiii + 230p.; illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

Not since Alfred J. Wright's *Economic Geography of Ohio,* published in 1957, has there been a comprehensive geography of the state. Allen Noble and Albert Korsok, both members of the geography department at The University of Akron, have not only filled this void, but have done so admirably. Professor Noble developed six of the 12 chapters, Professor Korsok four, and two other members of the Akron department each contributed a chapter. Despite some unevenness in the approach and quality of the chapters, the book is a well-done, unified whole.

There are certain similarities between this volume and Wright's: for one, both are published by the Division of Geological Survey (this is Bulletin 65 and Wright's was Bulletin 50). The physical appearance is similar, but it must be added that the present volume is superior in terms of typescript, photographic selection and layout, and in the varied and effective maps, charts, and drawings that it includes; and, finally, there is similarity in organization although the present volume has a broader focus and reflects a pronounced effort by the authors to relate aspects of Ohio's geography to certain trends apparent in current geographic research. Wright, on the other hand, provided the reader with considerably more historic perspective and emphasized more strongly a regional approach.

After a short "Introduction" which attempts to place Ohio in perspective relative to the nation, an historical treatment of "Settlement in Ohio" follows. The chapter is well-done although this reviewer, for one, would like to have seen more attention given to the impact of the unique role of alternative land survey systems upon settlement and development. The process of historic settlement leads, but not quite naturally in the text, to a discussion of population. And here, as in later chapters, an attempt is made to tie theory (in this case, von Thunen's model and Weber's industrial location model) to Ohio's "real world" experience.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6, dealing with physical landscape, agriculture, and the extractive industries, respectively, are the most conventional in approach. A traditional descriptive treatment of the state's geology, climate, vegetation, and soils characterizes Chapter 4; the discussion is reinforced by relevant maps and sketches. The section on agriculture is noteworthy for its emphasis upon land values and incomes in an urban state. There is, as well, the expected discussion of major commodities and agricultural regions, but major attention is focused on the state's changing agriculture. The chapter on extractive industries is largely descriptive, based, as it is, upon available production data. There is too little effort here to consider these activities in any but a superficial way. For example, given the scope of our energy resource problems and related

environmental issues, the treatment of these topcis is skimpy indeed.

In Chapter 7, "Manufacturing in Ohio," the approach is less stereotyped and more rewarding. For example, after suggesting that Ohio is favorably situated for industrial development, Noble discusses several of the key factors affecting location decisions and, to a limited extent, draws upon location theory to help explain Ohio's growth as an industrial state. While these factors are never strongly treated in the chapter, the author does, at least, provide the interested reader with a few basic concepts relative to industrial location and industrial classification for Ohio cities. The final part of the chapter is given over to a description of the industrial mix of major industrial centers: Noble carries this difficult task off quite well by emphasizing the historical evolution of industry in the respective city and by placing it in perspective relative to those factors responsible for industrial change.

In a way, it might have been useful to have included the introductory pages of Chapter 8, "Transport and Commerce in Ohio," in the first one or two chapters of the text. The historical review has relevance to the settlement of the state; the two subjects could have been dealt with accordingly. In the main, however, this chapter deals with present transportation systems. Specific attention is given to the different experiences of Cleveland and Cincinnati vis-a-vis their "shipping patterns," and there is a short but worthwhile discussion of retail and wholesale trade in the state.

It is Chapter 9, "The Urban Geography of Ohio," that strikes this reviewer as one of the two or three most innovative. There is a nice mix of topics here ranging from, but not limited to, a consideration of the phenomena of site and situation as factors affecting the initial location and later development of many Ohio cities (including some as small as Conneaut and as large as Cleveland), to an attempt to classify by function these communities, and to a very well-developed section on the internal structure of Ohio's cities in which basic theories (i.e., concentric zone, sector, multiple nuclei) are postulated and then applied to state examples. Excellent visuals accompany the discussion including maps of the internal structure of several cities, computer-generated maps of urban pollution, and an interesting series of maps that report on various qualities of social geography, such as ethnicity, homicides, etc., of selected Ohio cities.

This chapter is followed by another imaginative and innovative discussion, "The Countryside and Small Town in Ohio." Some attention is given to the origins of towns and to place names, but the principal contribution is an extensive section (15 pages) that emphasizes house, barn, and fence types, and gives detailed attention to town patterns. The discussion is enhanced immensely by 18 drawings of house and barn types, and by 19 representations of town patterns. It is here, rather than in the second chapter, that the cultural heritage of the state is most effectively treated.

"The Social Geography of Ohio," the subject of Chapter 11, is a topic never dealt with in earlier geographies of the state. Here, issues of poverty and income differences are considered. Using government data, a series of maps has been constructed to illustrate "Measures of Disadvantage" within the state by county for such subjects as per capita public assistance, housing quality, infant mortality, etc. Distinctive regional differences are anticipated, of course, and the data presented here support one's conjectures—Appalachian Ohio is as distinctive in its social geography as it is in its physical geography!

The final chapter is a highly generalized discussion of the problems that face the state and of some possibilities for resolving them. Specifically, attention is focused on the urban environment (need for better planning), the physical environment (pollution and resource limitations), and Appalachia (an additional argument that suggests that somehow this region can become a major recreation area and, thereby, support itself). A special section deals with the idea of promoting more satisfactorily a recreation and tourist industry in the state. And, finally, brief attention is given to government (it is suggested, perhaps naively, that metropolitan government may resolve local government problems) and to the proliferation of government services.

Those of us who teach courses in the Geography of Ohio welcome this up-to-date text. It provides not only the background and data for traditional subjects, but offers a number of new approaches (i.e., new to Ohio geographies) and numerous well-conceived visuals as well. There is a solid though not exhaustive bibliography and two appendices relating to population data and to population growth trends. There may be shortcomings and even flaws in both the approach and content of the volume, but if there are they are more than offset by the numerous good features that this volume possesses.

The Ohio State University Henry L. Hunker

History of Willard, Ohio, with Pioneer Sketches of New Haven, Greenfield, Norwich and Richmond Townships. By Joseph F. Dush. (Willard: The Lakeside Press, 1974, xiii + 318p.; illustrations, index. $17.95.)

Writing local history presents a very challenging dilemma. An author who attempts what Mr. Dush has attempted in his *History of Willard, Ohio* may on the one hand aim his work at the home folks, in which case there will appear substantial lists of people associated with one project or another which may satisfy the desire of the local citizens to see their names in print, but which will only weary the more professional historian and cause him to write an unfavorable review. On the other hand, he may forego such details as the lists and seek to write a discerning history in which the community is placed on the larger stage of county, state and nation. But here, unless he is writing about a great metropolitan area, he may well discover that his volume remains on bookstore shelves unpurchased and he, or his sponsors, is saddled with debt.

Mr. Dush may well have tried to satisfy both his neighbors and historians in this work. He has done better by the home folks. We understand. Still there are some things omitted that the local citizens should know which would also have pleased the historian. For example, no one can gainsay that railroads are the *raison d'être* for the founding of Willard, yet one searches in vain for the story of the building of Willard's *first* railroad. All we get on that is "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company purchased several shorter lines of railroad in Ohio, among them the Sandusky, Mansfield and Newark lines that ran north and south through Huron County just west of New Haven." All of us are entitled to the details about when and why and how this line was built and also when it was purchased. Without this line there could have been no later Chicago Junction.

The reader gets frequent glimpses of the story of the Baltimore and Ohio

main line and its Willard installations, yet the book is finished with the feeling that that is just what it gives: glimpses. One could wish for a thorough job such as the author has done for Midwest Industries and the Donelly Co., both of which received detailed and apparently complete treatment. By the time one completes this book these companies seem to be more solid institutions in the community than the venerable Baltimore and Ohio.

One wishes that the planning of fringe aspects of all books were as well done as for this one. The book is physically attractive, it has a useful index, a pleasing format and inspired drawings in the margins. Mr. Dush is to be highly complimented in these areas. There is one omission: a useful city map with named streets to help the outsider (maybe even the resident) keep up with the author as he moves around over the city.

The *History of Willard, Ohio* is a useful work of local history, pleasant to read, with acceptable organization, good research in some areas but weaknesses in the treatment of the railroads and a tendency to remember the home folks at the expense of the historian.

Ohio Northern University Boyd Sobers

Ethnic Groups in Ohio with Special Emphasis on Cleveland: An Annotated Bibliographical Guide. By Lubomyr R. Wynear et al. (Cleveland: Cleveland State University, Cleveland Ethnic Heritage Studies Development Program, 1975. vi + 254p.; notes, appendices, indexes. $6.50.)

The recent mushrooming of interest in ethnic studies in the United States led the Cleveland Board of Education and the Intercollegiate Council on Ethnic Studies under the direction of Dr. Karl Bonutti, as well as the Catholic school system in Cleveland, to a joint effort to receive funding support from the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health Education and Welfare, to produce this very excellent bibliographical guide. Professor Lubomyr R. Wynear of Kent State University headed the team of scholars who compiled and annotated the entries.

Greater Cleveland, with an ethnic mosaic of over sixty ethnic and racial groups, seemed a logical place to treat in such a study. The book begins with a listing of general reference sources and a list of general works on ethnicity in the United States. It moves on quickly to a more specific consideration of the ethnic groups in Greater Cleveland about which there is likely to be the greatest research interest, such as (in alphabetical order): American Indian, Appalachian, Arab-American, Black-American, Byelorussian, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Puerto Rican, Romanian, Russian, Scottish, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Swedish, Swiss and Ukranian-American. The book concludes with an appendix that contains a directory of archival holdings in Cleveland and a listing of repositories of Cleveland ethnic newspapers, as well as a chart of the recent ethnic populations of Cleveland and the United States.

Both the scope of the book and its intended audience are purposely limited. By his own avowal, the author has restricted the listings to: "selective" items in the English language only, with an emphasis on "reference and monographic

publications." Dissertations and masters' theses were also included, as well as a few periodical articles. The book was designed for use by junior-high and high-school students as well as college undergraduates.

Bearing in mind this limited scope and purpose, the book must be judged to be an excellent new tool for use in social science research classes with a racial or ethnic focus. It is well organized for easy and quick use by less sophisticated students.

This reviewer is impressed by two final points. One is the fact that Professor Wynear's very fine bibliographical guide is a good research tool in itself. The other point is that the book was obviously designed to fit in perfectly with a whole series of monographs on the various Cleveland ethnic minorities, some of which have already been published and others of which are due off the press in the near future. One might wish that other cities would follow this example.

Xavier University Paul L. Simon

The American Heritage History of Railroads in America. By Oliver O. Jensen. (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1975. 320p.; illustrations, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Railroads in America, by Oliver O. Jensen, editor of *American Heritage Magazine,* is a popular treatment of railroading in the United States. Tracing the industry from its beginnings a century and a half ago to the present era of Amtrak and Conrail, Jensen suggests that "The history of American railroads sometimes seems . . . a paradigm of the history of the republic itself. Both were created through heroic struggles, both swelled to imperial influence and power; both, as is the way with empires, have fallen on difficult, uncertain times" (p. 7). Through a combination of narrative essays and contemporary observations, the author discusses a variety of specialized topics, including the evolution of rail motive power, construction of the first transcontinental line, station architecture, and the industry's romantic image in the American mind. Although the text is considerable, photographs, line drawings and other illustrative material comprise the bulk of the work.

This publication is a high-quality "buff" book, full of nostalgia for the railfan and the general reader alike. Both will admire the book's marvelous illustrations, its gracefully written text, and the coverage of colorful topics. Serious students of railroad history, however, will probably find little of value in Mr. Jensen's text. Repeatedly the author demonstrates his rather shallow grasp of general American history and an insufficient knowledge of railroad history. There are numerous examples of his limitations, but two will suffice. When Jensen discusses government regulation of the rail network, he seems totally unaware of most "standard" studies, including Gabriel Kolko's classic *Railroads and Regulations, 1877-1916.* And when Jensen describes the railroad station he not only ignores the all-important standardized structure, but he incorrectly asserts that "carpenters armed with jig saws constructed fanciful Gothic ornamentation; arched windows, for instance, or scrolled supports for the eves" (p. 217). Rather than being the products of skilled and imaginative local craftsmen, these ornaments were more likely fashioned on machines in many woodworking factories of the East and the Middle West. Finally, this

reviewer, although a dedicated railfan himself, is annoyed by the constant "digs" at the non-rail transportation industry, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and over-all government policies vis-à-vis American railroads. However, if one shares Mr. Jensen's point of view, these comments should be appreciated.

The University of Akron H. Roger Grant

Thurber: A Biography. By Burton Bernstein. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1975. ix + 532p.; illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

Any book whose first chapter begins with the sentence, "Columbus is a depressing place," can't be all bad. As first sentences go, it ranks right up there with "*Arma virumque cano*" and "Call me Ishmael." Burton Bernstein's deflating opening is a positive omen. Although he had insisted on sole control of the final manuscript, the temptation in an "authorized" biography, especially when some principals of the story are still living, is to soften edges, to spare feelings, to avoid conflicts. Luckily, Bernstein resisted the temptation. Thurber's widow, Helen, found the book "too negative," but its tone reminded me of the definition of a friend as someone who knows all your faults and still likes you.

Bernstein has produced a useful and readable biography. As official biographer, with access to Thurber's papers and letters, his research is as thorough as could be wished. He does a workmanlike job on the drudgery of biography—listing names, places, dates, yet refrains from overwhelming the reader with detailed trivia. He often, and commendably, allows Thurber to speak for himself by quoting extensively from private letters. He manages the mass of biographic material well: the tragic childhood accident which eventually cost Thurber his sight; his sometimes stormy relationships with his family; his ambivalent feelings about Columbus, his home town, and about Ohio State, his alma mater. A very useful selected bibliography of material by and about Thurber is also provided.

Bernstein, with a keen understanding of the difference between public and private virtue, does not feel it necessary to turn Thurber into a plaster saint. We are shown the talented artist and the sometimes tortured human being. Thurber fluctuated between fits of alcoholic rage and subsequent sobered apology; he got divorced; he had extra-marital affairs. He also wrote stories and drew cartoons which have been favorably compared to the works of Mark Twain and Henri Matisse, respectively.

Bernstein's prose is sometimes distracting and annoyingly self-conscious. Using the German "*echt*" when "best" or "vintage" is meant, as in "the story is not *echt* Thurber," is overly pedantic. For the most part, however, his prose is at the service of his story.

Thurber's long association with the *New Yorker* and its unique founder and editor, Harold Ross, is also duly chronicled. Some of the best anecdotes in the book concern Ross. When another cartoonist objected that Ross refused his work and printed "stuff by that fifth-rate artist Thurber," Ross was quick to correct him. "Third rate," he said. Although Bernstein does not indulge himself in celebrity anecdotes for their own sake, with a man like Thurber they are inevitable. Some are titillating: Thurber in a speakeasy, throwing a glass of

whiskey at Lillian Hellman; some are amusing: Thurber forging Ross' signature of approval on his cartoons to get them printed; some are genuinely astonishing: the blind Thurber being guided to his extra-marital liaisons by a young *New Yorker* office boy, Truman Capote.

Bernstein's straightforward narration of Thurber's disintegration and increasing paranoia during his final years makes harrowing reading. But Thurber himself was unsentimental about death. In a letter to his brother Robert in 1928, he wrote: "There ought to be some point to it all and I live in the hopes that the adventure of death is something equal to the adventure of life which is pretty colorful and interesting even if hard. It would seem strange to me if God made such a complicated world and such complicated people and then had no more to offer than blankness at the end, so I live in the curiosity and the hope and the excitement of what there may be afterwards. . . ."

No doubt there will be other (more positive?) biographical treatments of Thurber. And certainly there will be more detailed literary and artistic criticisms than Bernstein, limited by the biographic form, was able to provide. Nevertheless, for an understanding of Thurber as man and artist, Bernstein's work is essential reading.

The Ohio Historical Society Patrick G. Miller, Jr.